# The New REPUBLIC

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## The Week

SENATOR Borah has done a great service both to Europe and the United States by his radio address on reparations. In Europe the beneficial effect of the Lausanne agreement had largely been canceled by the reaction of official and voluble America against any remittance of war debts—just as the immediately beneficial effects of the Hoover moratorium months before had been canceled by the stand-pat attitude of France on reparations. The speech will reassure Europe to the extent of knowing that at least one American statesman—and the chairman of the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee at that—is thinking in terms of economics and not of national combativeness. We are perfectly confident that the small but influential group now represented by Mr. Borah will in time become the dominant expression of American opinion on this subject. And, in the United States, Senator Borah has done his own people the service of pointing out clearly that the object of dealing generously with reparations is not to make a present to foreigners but to further our own interests, cotton, hogs, automobiles and other products of industries flat on their backs for want of customers.

CONCERNING Senator Borah's belief that the war debts should be considered not alone but in connection with other important issues such as disarmament, trade barriers and the currency problem, there is some doubt. He is right, of course, that a settlement of the debt, while essential, would not in itself provide the conditions of prosperity, and that other matters as well should be considered. But he is also right that it is important to reach a prompt settlement; and we might be able to progress faster if we dealt with these things one at a time on the basis of the world's best interests rather than by lumping them all together as a means of bargaining. We should be happy if a conference could settle all the disputes inside of a few weeks, but we fear that the idea that the several nations were bargaining for advantage rather than seeking common gains would make for delay. Incidentally, in spite of all that Mr. Borah says, this speech does register a change in his policy: though he has long believed debt should be reduced in exchange for European disarmament, he has been in the attitude of the coy trader waiting to be approached, whereas now he takes the lead in urging haste. Incidentally again, Franklin D. Roosevelt missed a golden opportunity in not making a bold utterance of this kind and seizing the leadership which has now fallen to Borah. Mr. Roosevelt, even if his intentions are good, gives continued signs of suffering from political timidity.

AT LAST the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, stung by the demands of local constituent bodies and by the suffering which has resulted from the long continued depression, has come around to an endorsement of unemployment insurance. The New Republic, as well as others familiar with the labor movement, predicted that in time it would. Nearly all social legislation is originally advocated by persons not powerful in the official labor movement, and indeed by some who are not in that movement at all. It makes headway in separate localities and subordinate groups, and is finally

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This is the way with a conservative, democratic and loosely organized institution like the A. F. of L. The Executive Council has decided to study the question in order to make up its mind what kind of measure to support. It wants one to be nationally applied, and it rightly wants to safeguard union members against being forced to work under non-union conditions on pain of losing their benefits. One may safely predict, however, that a bold stand of organized labor in support of social legislation would do more to bolster its membership than any interference with its membership rolls which that legislation might make possible.

THE finally authorized railroad-consolidation plan of the four great Eastern systems comes exactly ten years too late. It was the Transportation Act of 1920 which first directed that the Interstate Commerce Commission prepare a consolidation plan to improve railroad efficiency and strengthen railroad finances. Until 1929, the Commission was not even able to adopt a plan, because of the many objections and obstructions created by competing privately owned railroads, and by other interests such as shippers and localities. Meanwhile, without legal authorization, and in many cases by means of action directly contrary to law, the powerful systems proceeded to grab what they could respectively get of the roads they wanted. As Commissioner Eastman points out in his dissent, the law did not contemplate any such process: it wanted consolidation according to a general plan framed in the public interest. If Congress had desired to bring about the present situation, it would simply have given railroad companies freedom to acquire whatever others they could, and would have directed the Interstate Commerce Commission to ratify whatever result the private interests could achieve.

THERE is not even any point in arguing that, no matter how the present railroad-consolidation plan was arrived at, its results will be good for the country. No operating economies of any magnitude are, or ever have been, probable as a result of a consolidation of this kind—which after all is merely a way of enlarging competitors, not of bringing about unification and rational management from the point of view of our whole economy. Nor will competition be on much more even terms than before, since the Pennsylvania will still be the dominating system. The situation of certain roads left out of the plan, and of other regions which the plan does not cover, is likely to be definitely worse as a result. There used to be a magic in the word "merger" to boost security values, but is that true any longer? The best that can be said is that, since the financial community has long believed (however erroneously) in this consolidation, it will have a desirable effect upon confidence. But experiment after experiment has proved that in this crisis we need something more. A consolidation effected a decade ago might have left the railroads in a better position to survive the present depression, but partial action so long delayed is scarcely likely to be even a palliative. The railroad problem is far from solution.

IN ANSWER to the urgent appeal from Romain Rolland (printed in the July 6 issue of The New Republic), an American Committee for the World Congress against War has recently been formed. Theodore Dreiser, Roger Baldwin, E. C. Lindeman, Alla Nazimova, Upton Sinclair, Lincoln Steffens and Thornton Wilder are among the members. The task of the committee will be "to assemble a delegation that will adequately represent this country, its leaders of thought, its veterans, its teachers, students and workers, employed and unemployed." In Germany, Britain and France, the work of selecting delegates is much further advanced, and all these countries will be widely represented at Geneva when the Congress meets on August 28. There the delegates will be faced, not with the question of how to encourage peace in some vague future, but with the definite problem of how to prevent the war that threatens to break out within the next year —unless statesmen, generals and munition makers are forcibly convinced that they can't make it pay.

IN The New Republic of January 27, 1932, we referred to a document put out by the Illinois National Guard for the confidential information of its members. This statement, intended to tell the guardsmen how to deal with "radical disorders" or other "domestic disturbances," says that "troops shall never be ordered on riot duty without an ample supply of ball ammunition. Blank cartridges should never be fired at a mob. . . . Never fire over the heads of the rioters. The aim should be low, with full charge ammunition and the battle sight. . . . When necessary, a few sharpshooters or expert riflemen may be placed on roofs and in high windows to fire over the heads of those in the front of a crowd and break up the rear." This cold-blooded recommendation for slaughter naturally caused widespread public protest; and among those who objected to it was a college professor at an Illinois institution who wrote to Governor Emmerson about it. He received a reply, not from the Governor, but from Mr. Roy D. Keehn, in private life a well known Chicago lawyer, in public life, among other things, major general commanding the Illinois National Guard. Mr. Keehn's remarks seem to us too important not to be quoted in full:

> My dear Prof. ——: Your letter of May 31 was handed to me by Governor Emmerson, commander-in-chief of the Illinois National Guard.
>
> The pages in the circular of instructions to which you take exception, are almost without exception copied from the manual of the War Department, or

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eral circulation. It is my opinion that it is well for the citizens of the state generally to be fully advised of the preparation and instructions from our superiors governing the operations of our organization in time of strife.

You are entitled to your opinion, of course, and your earnest protest is one of a number from very sincere gentlemen like yourself that has been received. On the other hand, we have been flooded with letters of commendation from public officials, patriotic societies, as well as college presidents and professors, and the plan in general has been adopted in many other states.

You can appreciate that any attempt to do anything that has any really constructive punch in it is bound to receive criticism. We welcome yours and assure you that we are trying to do our job as we believe we are directed to do under the Constitution of the nation and the state.

Sincerely,

ROY D. KEEHN.

GENERAL Keehn is listed in "Who's Who in America" as a Mason (K.T., Shriner), a member of Phi Kappa Psi and Phi Delta Phi, a former assistant corporation counsel of Chicago, a member of the Chicago Law Institute and the Art Institute of Chicago, as well as the University, Mid-Day, Army and Navy, Chicago Athletic, Lake Shore Athletic, Knollwood Country, Chicago Riding, Bob O'Link, Racquet, and South Shore Country clubs. We sincerely hope for the sake of his feelings that there are no members of Phi Kappa Psi or Bob O'Links among the mobs whom he proposes to shoot down by way of constructive punch. We are particularly interested to note that he is listed as "personal representative in Chicago" of William Randolph Hearst, that great pacifist and friend of the common man. It seems to us only fair that Mr. Hearst should ask General Keehn whether he is prepared to replace those readers of his papers who happen to be shot down by the Illinois National Guard in the course of riotous disturbances by people who prefer to starve in public rather than privately. Readers are too scarce to be lightly squandered these days, even by a Knollwooder and member of the Art Institute.

MONTH after month, American labor has been praised by conservative newspapers for adopting a passive attitude toward wage cuts and unemployment—an attitude, as one enthusiastic editor phrased it, "of cheerfulness, coöperation and faith in the future." Month after month, conditions have failed to justify this faith, and there are signs today that it is disappearing. From factories and mines all over the country come reports of resistance to further nibbling at pay checks or lengthening of hours. Here, for example, are three items taken from a single issue of The New York Times (and it is noteworthy that "foreign agitators" are mentioned in none of the three; these are Amer-

HIGH POINT, N. C.—Threats of violence by striking hosiery workers from other mills kept the Diamond full-fashioned mill closed here today despite the willingness of its employees, who struck last week, to return to work. . . . The Diamond mill workers were among 6,000 hosiery makers in twenty-four mills who struck last week.

Police lines were thrown about the mill this morning, but the management refused to open the plant in the face of the hostility of the strikers.

CLARKSVILLE, Ark.—Efforts of 500 union miners to halt non-union operations in the Johnson County coal fields caused disorder today that resulted in injuries to a mine boss and mobilization of National Guardsmen. . . .

Sheriff Russell and Captain Fay Brown, commander of the Clarksville National Guard company, remained near by to observe their movements. The troops stayed in Clarksville.

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill.—A crowd of about 500 men, many of them armed with revolvers and machine guns, turned back a gasoline truck of the Phillips Petroleum Company as it attempted to enter the city shortly before noon today. The company has been in dispute with union labor over paint work at its plant near Monsanto, south of here.

For two weeks deputy sheriffs have been investigating a report that Shelton gangsters were employed as guards at the Phillips plant. Officers said they had seen, through field glasses, Carl Shelton, leader of the notorious gang, and his brothers, Earl and Bernie, inside the fence at the plant.

THE efforts of the government to speed the parting veterans home from Washington, by supplying them with free carfare and gas, have produced a situation which is probably the exact reverse of what the officials desire. Only the home-loving veterans and those who have homes to go to are leaving in any great numbers, while the intransigents, the disinherited, the die-hards, still remain in Washington determined to fight it out with Uncle Sam to the last ditch. Unhampered now by the weight of a moderate and peaceful majority, the bitter-enders will have much greater freedom to carry out the activist tactics of the radical leaders. The disorders which occurred on Monday, when several hundred of the untouchable Communists, hitherto banned from any participation in death marches and flag parades, attempted to march to the White House in defiance of police orders, are perhaps the beginning of a series which may continue all summer. The police are already beginning to show their teeth and the veterans are being given the regular dose of beatings and arrests. According to an official count which the police have made, there are still more than eight thousand "conservative" or "right" veterans in the city, but it is reported that a majority of these have already applied for free transportation. This offer, however, expires on August 4, and how much

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will largely depend upon how many members of the B.E.F. prefer to remain in the capital after that date.

PROMPTED apparently by the belief that it was taking a cautious step toward credit inflation, the recently formed committee of bankers and industrialists of the New York Federal Reserve district, of which Owen D. Young is chairman, has just obtained the pledges of a number of the largest corporations with which to launch its campaign for the wider use of trade acceptances. Although the trade acceptance is the method of extending commercial credit most commonly employed in Great Britain, it is little used in this country. American business houses have habitually extended credit to their customers on open book accounts, a method which, in its simplest form, is known to every shopper as a charge account. British industrial firms, on the other hand, have usually financed their customers' purchases by drawing an order against the buyer, which after being accepted by him could be discounted by the seller at his bank. Any new technique which thus makes bank credit more easily obtainable and at the same time makes eventual payments more certain should prove a benefit. But the very reason in favor of the adoption of the trade-acceptance practice which most appeals to students of the business cycle, namely, that it is one means of reducing the amount of reckless, speculative buying, leads one to doubt that it would have a stimulating effect at this time.

THE title of the Walapai Indians of Arizona to their tribal lands has been uncertain and contested ever since the original grant of lands to the Pacific railroads by Congress in 1855. The claims of the Walapais to the lands now included in their reservation and to two indispensable springs yielding 75,000 gallons of water daily were the subject of a comprehensive report prepared in 1928 by William A. Light, supervisor of the Indian Bureau. According to the American Indian Defense Association, this report, which established an almost conclusive case in favor of the Walapais, was apparently ignored in the memoranda submitted by Solicitor Finney of the Interior Department and Assistant Attorney General Richardson in justification of the recent agreement between the Indian Office and the Santa Fe Railway concerning the disputed lands. The agreement concedes 335,336 acres, or nearly half the Walapai reservation, to the railroad. While the Indians retain nominal possession of the springs, their continued use by the railroad without paying rent is authorized, with the stipulation that the Walapais are to be furnished as much of their own water as they need at a price not to exceed eighty-five cents a thousand gallons. Final confirmation of the agreement by Commissioner Rhoads and Secretary Wilbur has been deferred at the request of Senator Frazier. The record of the American one to inspire confidence that it can be trusted to act fairly on its sole initiative, and a disinterested investigation, or court action, or both, are undoubtedly desirable.

## Germany Clears the Decks

THE RECENT coup of the von Papen government has materially simplified the German political situation. The expulsion of the Prussian Ministers and the establishment of the dictatorship in Prussia by presidential decree puts the question to be decided next Sunday squarely before the voters: shall the National Socialist party or the so-called Republican regime become the ruling power in Germany?

For those familiar with Germany's political personalities, the recent events have not been surprising. The publication of personal letters written by intimates of Chancellor von Papen now proves what was obvious from the start—that the Prime Minister accepted office only upon President von Hindenburg's assurance that he would be commissioned with the Prussian dictatorship and upon Hitler's promise of a benevolent neutrality until after the Reichstag election. Hitler might, had he so desired, have exerted a strong influence on the government of von Papen's predecessor. Dr. Brüning repeatedly expressed his willingness to take some of the Fascist leaders into his Cabinet and to coöperate with their party. Had Hitler been satisfied with a modest share in the government, he could have obtained it without the risk entailed by a new election. Instead, he insisted on the expensive alternative because he is sure that, with the assistance of Dr. Hugenberg's German Nationalist People's party, he can set up a government controlled by his party without the necessity of tolerating uncongenial elements. Meanwhile, the period between the appointment of the present Cabinet and the establishment of the Prussian dictatorship has prepared the way for a Fascist regime by ferreting out and removing from office all Social Democratic and Democratic higher officials in the Prussian government. The appeal of the Prussian government to the Reichsgericht against the action of the Reich is a futile procedure when we consider that the judges who compose the court are entirely dependent on the good will of the national authorities.

In this crisis the German labor movement again failed to take a decisive stand. When Kapp attempted his famous *Putsch,* a general strike called by the Social Democratic trade unions and supported by the Communist party made quick work of his dictatorial pretensions. Immediately after the issuance of the von Hindenburg-von Papen emergency decree removing the Prussian government, the Communist party, it is true, called for a general strike. But in its eagerness to lead the

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it proceeded, characteristically, without consulting the leaders of the Allgemeine Deutsche Gewerkschafts-Bund (General German Trade Union Federation) or the Social Democratic party. The latter ignored the call and the trade unions urged their members to square labor's accounts with the von Papen government by voting solidly for Social Democratic candidates on July 31. Never was a united front of labor in Germany more needed, but the hatreds engendered by fourteen years of fanatic and bitter opposition are still too deep to be overcome.

Cable dispatches show that Dr. Brüning is leading what is left of the Weimar forces in an active speaking campaign. But even his own party is already negotiating with the National Socialist party in Hesse, where an understanding has been reached that will result in the election of a Catholic-Fascist coalition government, and in Württemberg and Prussia similar agreements are under way. The political party of the Catholic Church has for decades coöperated with the ultra-Conservatives of Hohenzollern Germany, and has much more in common with the feudal landholders and the big industrialists than with its recent ally, the Social Democratic party. The State party, formerly known as the Democratic party, is firm in its opposition to the Nationalists, but is so insignificant that it will play no role in the final outcome. The weakness of the German liberal bourgeoisie has never been more apparent.

That the Communist party will be driven underground as soon as the reactionary rule is established is self-evident. But for reasons of their own the Hitlerites have not insisted on its suppression. The elimination of the Communist party from the election would impel millions of its voters to support Social Democratic candidates, thereby increasing the strength of the Weimar parliamentary opposition. It is obviously to the advantage of the Nationalist concentration to permit the Communists, instead, to vote for their candidates and then to outlaw the party and to oust its deputies from the Reichstag. This stratagem would assure a Fascist-Nationalist majority.

The National Socialist party, which polled about 34 percent of all votes in the second presidential election, has gained between 4 and 12 percent in all state elections held since April 10. It is safe to predict, therefore, that it will unite from 42 to 45 percent of the total vote on its candidates. The German Nationalist People's party, which cast 10 percent of the vote in the Reichstag election of 1930, will profit by the disintegration of the German People's party and the Economic party, and will thus be in a position to furnish more than the necessary votes in the Reichstag to give Hitler a majority.

The opinion, frequently expressed, that Kurt von Schleicher, the "strong man" of the von Papen government, is preparing to outwit the Nazis by keeping his hold on the

election may be correct, but he would have difficulty in doing so. Schleicher could not count on the support of the Reichswehr in the event of open conflict with the Brown Shirts, because the official army of the Reich is so permeated with Fascist officers and soldiers that it may almost be regarded as an auxiliary to the 450,000 Sturm Abteilungen. Nor can a party with an aggressive membership of 1,000,000 be thus lightly put aside.

Remarkable is the attitude of the American press toward recent German developments. The New York Times, The Herald-Tribune, The New York Evening Post, The Chicago Tribune, The Washington Post and—last but not least—The Baltimore Sun, have already adjusted themselves to the idea of a Nationalist Germany with a monarchy in the offing. The New Republic did not share the enthusiasm of these editors for Dr. Brüning, nor did it rejoice at the "triumph of democracy" supposed to be signalized by the Hindenburg victory. It is not now deceived by the pretensions to law and order and political sanity of the "monocle" Cabinet. Will it be said in the future that public opinion in the United States stands behind that power in Germany and Austria which promises to return the billions of dollars invested by American capitalists—no matter whether the power is that of democracy or dictatorship?

## Hoover, Roosevelt and the St. Lawrence

THE ST. LAWRENCE power project, from the inception of the idea, was bound to be a curiously complicated undertaking. Four sovereignties are involved and of these New York and Ontario, which have most in common and are most anxious to obtain the power, are separated by an international boundary, and as members of federal states are prevented from dealing directly with each other. This inherent difficulty has now been further increased by the legalistic astigmatism of the Hoover administration.

From the beginning the New York State and federal governments have held divergent views of the development of the St. Lawrence. To Washington it has been primarily a waterway project in which New York—or possibly a private concern—would construct and operate the power concession. To Albany, on the contrary, it has been first of all New York's great water-power project. This divergence is unmistakably implicit in the correspondence on the subject between Governor Roosevelt and President Hoover. The Governor has sought to establish a useful principle in instances of this kind in which both a state and the federal government are directly concerned in an international question. He has repeatedly requested

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understanding with New York on the purely domestic issues before the negotiations with Canada were concluded. Despite their patent reasonableness, these requests and similar ones from the New York Power Authority have met with courteous evasions and open reproof on the part of the President and the State Department. The administration has never grasped the idea that it was in part obligated to act as a responsible intermediary for New York State.

The charge that Governor Roosevelt and the trustees of the Power Authority have attempted to meddle in affairs outside their proper jurisdiction is not supported by the facts. Since the St. Lawrence power will mean an increment of more than one-fourth to the existing generating capacity in the state, it is imperative that New York's interests be adequately safeguarded. The refusal of the federal administration to consult with the New York authorities as the negotiations with Canada progressed, has put New York in an extremely uncomfortable position. It is now possible that New York will be compelled to accept a treaty which is objectionable in many details or reject it and suffer the consequences of delay.

The treaty between the United States and Canadian governments which was signed in Washington on July 18 is a comprehensive document. The specific provision for the power development in the International Rapids section of the river between Ontario and New York is an incident in the detailed arrangements for the transformation of the entire Great Lakes-St. Lawrence waterway system to permit the passage of ocean-going ships. All improvements are to follow the recommendations of the final report of the Joint Board of Engineers—an international commission which has been studying the technical problems of the project since 1924. The treaty provides that construction in the international section, with the exception of power superstructures and machinery, is to be undertaken by a temporary international commission. Two dams, at Crysler Island near Ogdensburg, New York, and at Barnhart Island near Cornwall, Ontario, are contemplated in the plan of the Joint Board of Engineers. The dams will be used both for navigation and for power and will have a maximum capacity of about 2,200,000 horsepower, which is to be divided equally between the nations and converted into electricity in separate power houses at each dam. The temporary international commission is also directed to contract for the power installations with the agencies in the two countries which will be authorized to build and operate the generating stations.

The cost of the project is perhaps the most important consideration with respect to both power and navigation. The New York-St. Lawrence Development Commission, the predecessor of the Power Authority, studied this matter carefully and concluded that a single dam constructed at native scheme, because—among other reasons—it could be built for approximately seventy million dollars less. Yet the two-dam scheme has been agreed upon without granting even a hearing to New York, which is one of the principals in the enterprise.

The procedure followed by the Canadians makes an admirable contrast to the political animosities and accusations of bad faith which have accompanied the negotiations in this country. The Ontario and Dominion governments collaborated during the course of the negotiations and had agreed upon their mutual obligations in the realization of the project before the treaty was signed. They are thus able to present a united front when the treaty comes up for ratification. The crucial question of the apportionment of the cost of the construction which is common to both navigation and power has been settled and its subjection to legislative maneuvering has been prevented. According to the principle they have adopted, *i.e.*, that the savings which accrue from the construction of the power and navigation works as a joint project shall be divided equally, Ontario will pay $67,000,000 to the Dominion for the construction undertaken by the international commission and expend an additional $37,000,000 itself for superstructures and machinery. The apportionment of cost is particularly important, since there is well grounded doubt that the navigation improvements can pay for themselves, or represent an economically sound investment from a social point of view. There is danger, therefore, that in this country the power development will be asked to shoulder an unfairly large part of the cost of the whole project.

Without an agreement between New York and the federal administration, similar to that in Canada, as a basis for future congressional action, the St. Lawrence treaty, so far as this country is concerned, is an incomplete thing. And it looks like stupid politics. A Senate investigation was inevitable anyway, but it has been made doubly necessary by the administration's antagonistic attitude to the claims of New York.

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# Let's Buy America

CONGRESS has adjourned after having passed, with a great fanfare of trumpets, a "two billion, one hundred million dollar bill" whose purpose is partly to keep the victims of the depression from starvation, partly to make work and thereby decrease the number needing to be fed by charity, partly to release enough new purchasing power to help restore prosperity. The first of these purposes will be met fairly well, at least for the next few months. The second will be performed on a pitifully inadequate scale. The third, it is almost certain, will not be done at all, on account of the inadequacy of the bill both in sums and in character of appropriations. No amount anywhere near two billions will be spent. The restrictions which Mr. Hoover managed to put into the measure are of such a crippling character as to destroy all hope of its doing the job it was intended to do. Both Congress and the President continue to gamble, as they have done from the beginning, on the expectation that the depression may end by "natural" means during the next few months. They have left to the next session the real task of facing the problem and dealing adequately with it.

The purpose of this article is to make a modest proposal (much more modest than Dean Swift's) as to what ought to be done with the next money that Congress appropriates, in order to make sure that this time it will actually be effective. My suggestion is:

*Let's take five billion dollars and buy the United States with it.*

For about that sum—or, to be specific, for $5,453,000,000—it is possible, on the basis of June 30, 1932, stock prices, to buy 100 percent of the common stock of forty-four great American corporations, each of which, generally speaking, is a leader in its field. These forty-four corporations dominate almost every important field of industrial activity in the country.

For a little more than $2,700,000,000, obviously, it would be possible to buy a majority control of each of these corporations, which is all you need to guide their policies. In that case, the other $2,700,000,000 would buy majority control of an enormously long list of allied or competing corporations.

As a matter of fact, you don't need to buy 51 percent of the stock of any big corporation to obtain control. As things go nowadays, with ownership fairly well scattered, 25 or 30 percent of the stock, or sometimes even 10 or 15 percent, is enough to dictate all policies. But we plodding way, would want at least 51-percent control.

Herewith is published a table compiled by Mr. Bernard J. Reis (to whom, and to Mr. Daniel Mebane, I am indebted for important suggestions incorporated in this article). In the table appears a list of these forty-four corporations, their shares of stock, the closing price on June 30, and the market value as of that date. Mr. Reis estimates that the value of the plants of these companies, which could be bought outright for less than five and a half billion dollars, is about twelve and a half billions, so that Uncle Sam would be getting a first-class bargain for his money. This

### On the Bargain Table

| *Name of Company* | *Number of Shares Outstanding* | *Closing Price 6/30/32* | *Market Value* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Allied Chem. & Dye Corp. | 2,401,288 | 46 | $114,459,248 |
| American Can Company.. | 2,473,998 | 33 | 81,641,934 |
| Am. Radiator & Standard Sanitary Corp. ..... | 10,158,139 | 4 | 40,632,556 |
| Am. Smelting & Ref. Co. | 1,829,940 | 6 | 10,979,640 |
| Am. Sugar Refining Co... | 450,000 | 16 | 7,200,000 |
| Am. Tel. & Tel. Co..... | 18,662,275 | 77 | 1,436,995,175 |
| American Tobacco Co.... | 4,740,905 | 48 | 227,563,440 |
| Anaconda Copper Co..... | 8,676,916 | 3 | 26,030,748 |
| Atlantic Refining Co..... | 2,666,245 | 11 | 29,328,695 |
| Bethlehem Steel Corp..... | 3,200,000 | 8 | 25,600,000 |
| Case (J. I.) Corp..... | 191,322 | 22 | 4,209,084 |
| Colgate-Palmolive-Peet Co. | 1,985,687 | 11 | 21,842,557 |
| Columbia Carbon ..... | 538,420 | 16 | 8,614,720 |
| Commercial Solvents ..... | 2,509,946 | 5 | 12,549,730 |
| Corn Products Ref. Co.... | 2,530,000 | 27 | 68,310,000 |
| Drug, Inc. ..... | 3,501,499 | 26 | 92,038,974 |
| Du Pont de Nemours & Co. | 10,937,810 | 23 | 251,569,630 |
| General Electric Co..... | 28,845,927 | 10 | 288,459,270 |
| General Foods Corp..... | 5,275,667 | 20 | 105,513,340 |
| General Motors Corp..... | 43,500,000 | 8 | 348,000,000 |
| Goodyear Tire & Rub. Co. | 1,437,111 | 7 | 10,059,777 |
| Internat. Harvester Co... | 4,251,651 | 12 | 51,019,812 |
| Internat. Nickel Co. of Can. | 14,584,025 | 4 | 58,336,100 |
| International Shoe ..... | 3,510,000 | 32 | 112,320,000 |
| Island Creek Coal Co..... | 593,865 | 11 | 6,532,515 |
| Kennecott Copper Corp... | 9,394,659 | 5 | 46,973,295 |
| Loew's, Inc. ..... | 1,464,205 | 15 | 21,963,075 |
| Nat. Distillers Prod. Corp. | 251,167 | 19 | 4,772,173 |
| National Lead Corp..... | 309,831 | 53 | 16,421,043 |
| Otis Elevator Company... | 2,000,000 | 11 | 22,000,000 |
| Paramount Publix Corp... | 3,160,596 | 2 | 6,321,192 |
| Procter & Gamble..... | 6,410,000 | 21 | 134,610,000 |
| Socony Vacuum Corp..... | 31,744,543½ | 7 | 222,211,805 |
| Standard Brands ..... | 12,581,113 | 10 | 125,811,130 |
| Standard Oil Co. of Calif. | 13,102,900 | 18 | 235,852,200 |
| Standard Oil Co. of N. J. | 25,735,468 | 24 | 617,651,232 |
| Texas Corp. ..... | 9,851,236 | 9 | 88,661,124 |
| Tex. Gulf Sulph. Ref. Co. | 2,540,000 | 13 | 33,020,000 |
| Union Carbide & Carbon Corp. ..... | 9,000,743 | 16 | 144,011,888 |
| United Aircraft & Transport Corp. ..... | 2,084,317 | 8 | 16,674,536 |
| United Fruit Company.... | 2,925,000 | 13 | 38,025,000 |
| U. S. Ind. Alcohol Corp... | 373,846 | 16 | 5,981,536 |
| United States Steel Corp.. | 8,703,252 | 22 | 191,471,544 |
| Westinghouse Electric Co. | 2,586,181 | 16 | 41,378,896 |

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bargain becomes amazingly good when you deduct from the purchase price the net working capital of these companies, which amounts to something like four billion dollars. Here, for instance, is a little table showing the excess of current assets over current liabilities in a few of these cases:

| | *Excess of current assets over current liabilities* |
|---|---|
| Allied Chemical and Dye Corp..... | $143,067,516 |
| American Telephone and Telegraph Co. | 195,655,349 |
| American Tobacco Company..... | 135,709,094 |
| General Electric Company..... | 190,603,723 |
| General Motors Corporation..... | 271,536,282 |
| International Harvester Company..... | 224,566,512 |
| Socony Vacuum Corporation..... | 259,073,230 |
| Standard Oil of New Jersey..... | 585,238,363 |
| United States Steel Corporation..... | 430,651,659 |

The figures quoted in our general table give no adequate idea of the physical value of the plants involved. For instance, the plant of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company is valued at almost three billion dollars; that of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation at more than half a billion; that of the Du Ponts at almost half a billion; that of General Motors at more than $600,000,000; that of the General Electric at about a quarter of a billion; United States Steel, one and three-quarter billions; Standard Oil of New Jersey, one and one-quarter billions; Socony Vacuum Corporation, three-quarters of a billion; and so on. The book value of these forty-four companies is only about the same as the replacement value; and it is, as I have suggested, about two and a half times as much as the present value of their common stocks.

It will be noted that there are no railroads in this list. One reason is that the railroads of the United States are today as a whole a liability rather than an asset; but another and more compelling reason is that the government seems likely to take over many of them on mortgage in any case, through the actions of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. The government's loans are being made in such a manner as to render this not only possible but, I believe, legally necessary. Uncle Sam will begin his experiment in government ownership under the worst possible circumstances, by owning and operating only the most crippled of the lame ducks. He will be lucky if he doesn't find a great many other industrial organizations on his hands, on the same terms, before the R.F.C. gets through playing Santa Claus.

Five billion dollars spent in buying control of these corporations would do far more to restore prosperity than a similar amount spent on "self-liquidating, non-competitive public works"—even if we assume that such works exist or can be invented. The present ideal of the boards of directors of the concerns listed, and all others in America, is of course to operate at the lowest the maximum possible amount drained off as profits. If anyone tries to tell you anything else, the only answer is that he doesn't know what he is talking about. Any board of directors which worked on any other principle would be in danger of being fired for incompetence. The Ford system of low prices and large production comes as completely within the essential terms of that definition as any other.

Uncle Sam, on the other hand, would operate these companies primarily in the public interest. He would keep profits down to an irreducible minimum. He would, if he acted intelligently, maintain high wages and low prices. With his resources, he could afford to take risks in starting the wheels of industry which even these great giants among our corporations dare not take. He could begin operating on a wide scale even with plants which are now in red ink and which, under private ownership, must be kept down to a minimum. These large-scale activities would release new purchasing power, which would in turn justify a heavy production schedule, and this, again, would make profitable operation possible. He could whiz around that famous corner to meet prosperity.

"But," I hear my reader objecting (I assume that the day is not too warm, and that I *have* a reader), "would not lesser companies in the same fields find themselves unable to compete with our Uncle, and would they not be put out of business?" The answer is, probably they would, and a very good thing, too. The wastefulness of competition is now apparent to the veriest Hearst reader. Let these lesser competitors either bestir themselves to keep ahead of the government by their wits, by superior service, by new inventions, or let them give up and sell their stock to Washington. Probably most of their stockholders would be delighted to get a market for it, just as would the present owners of the leading corporations listed in our table.

"But," my reader goes on in his irritating way, "would this not constitute unfair competition and confiscation of property and would not the Supreme Court declare it to be unconstitutional?"

Perhaps. I assume that if we ever had sense enough to buy America, we would have sense enough to clip the wings of the Supreme Court. Everyone knows that whatever a decisive majority of the people want, the Supreme Court eventually comes around to approving. Like the victim of post-hypnotic suggestion, it manages to rationalize the inevitable. The obscurantism of the Supreme Court is not the real reason why it is unlikely that my modest proposal will be carried out. The real reason is stated in a seven-letter word, as the puzzle books would say, beginning with "i" and ending with "a" and to be defined,

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# Land Planning in the Empire State

WITH FARMING and agriculture at the lowest ebb they have reached in the history of this country, it has become more and more imperative that a workable land policy should be evolved to prevent the suffering and disaster which inevitably follow any attempt to produce crops or livestock on improper soil or under unfavorable climatic and market conditions. The need for such a policy has been made doubly clear by the tragic mistakes everywhere visible in the cut-over areas of the Northern lake states and the Northwest, certain sections of the dry-land areas and a few unfortunate irrigation developments of the Far West, the abandoned-farm areas of the Northwest and certain infertile, eroded areas of the South.

New York, Michigan and Wisconsin have already done considerable work on land problems, but New York has perhaps developed its policy more definitely than has any other state. This program has attracted so much attention that it seems worth while to describe it somewhat in detail.

In New York State farm land has been abandoned at the rate of 100,000 acres a year for forty years. For the past five years this abandonment has proceeded much faster, probably at the rate of about 250,000 acres a year. It is estimated that the state has approximately three to three and a half million acres of abandoned farm land, though it is difficult to determine the exact amount, for some land has been taken up by cities or villages for water-supply protection, some has been used for parks, while some has been purchased and reforested by individuals, townships or counties.

This area of idle land, however, does not in any way indicate a decadent agriculture. During the same forty-year period, production on the remaining farms has increased to such an extent that today New York has no trouble in maintaining its position as fifth or sixth among all the states of the Union in total value of farm products, though the state ranks twenty-ninth in size. The good land is being farmed more efficiently and better livestock is being raised.

The idle farm land is largely concentrated in certain counties, and particularly in certain townships. In some of the townships studied, 40 percent of the farms have already been abandoned. When this occurs, it is obvious that the township is too poor to do anything toward solving the problem. If there are many townships of this sort in the county, it is just as obvious that the county is impotent.

The development of a state land policy has been the result of an increasing public interest in the idle-land problem. Nearly a quarter of a century ago, with Dean Liberty Hyde Bailey as chairman, called attention to the abandoned farms in southern New York, and President Roosevelt himself investigated some of them at first hand. About eight years ago the board of directors of the Chenango County Farm Bureau passed a resolution calling upon the College of Agriculture to make a study of one of the townships in that county to determine what should be done to solve the abandoned-farm problem.

As a result, studies were initiated to embrace many other townships where there were large areas of idle land. These studies attempted to analyze the situation and suggest remedies. The work was inexpensive and yielded a vast amount of information. As soon as this information was available, the more important data were placed on charts and were presented for discussion at agricultural meetings all over the state. They were discussed before practically every Farm Bureau, were published in agricultural papers, and in various other ways were brought sharply to the attention of the people.

Governor Roosevelt has repeatedly stressed the need for a state land policy in his public papers and addresses. In 1929, his Agricultural Advisory Commission made a special study of the land-utilization problem. As a result, the Commission recommended appropriations for a land economic survey. The movement was nonpartisan in character; a Democratic Governor and a Republican Legislature joined in making the appropriation.

A considerable percentage of this money must be used to complete the soil survey. A large part is also used for special studies of one sort or another, while a relatively small proportion has been devoted to actual land-classification work.

In land classification an effort is made to rate the land according to its agricultural possibilities, to classify the roads in its vicinity and to determine where electrical lines should be located to serve the farms remaining in these areas. Soil maps and climatic data are used. There are available a large number of financial surveys giving records of business results on thousands of farms throughout the state. In addition to these, a cover map is made of the region to be studied and certain other data concerning values of land, income from land and crop yields are gathered.

On the basis of all of this information, the land is classified into five groups. Group One contains the land which should be reforested as early as possible. Group Five contains the best land in the state, which should remain permanently in agriculture. Group Four, containing land which is nearly as good as that in Group Five, will remain

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quite the highest class of land in the state. Groups Two and Three are intermediate.

The conclusions derived from such a study may be illustrated by the following: In one poor county in central New York, it was found that 14 percent of the land should be reforested immediately, and 22 percent ought to be reforested during the next generation. If this land is reforested, 224 miles of road, or 20 percent of all the road mileage in the county, could be closed, with a resulting saving. It was also found that twenty-nine school districts, or 22 percent of the school districts in the county, could give up their schools. This means an average annual saving of about $1,500 per district. A development of this sort will undoubtedly lead to a combination of some townships.

If land groups One and Two are to be reforested, it will be necessary to do this with public funds. In spite of the assistance offered by the state, private individuals and corporations do not reforest much land. As one eminent forester has said, "Psychology and economics are against this." It might be added that compound interest is against it, too.

Although New York has for some years carried on the largest reforestation program of any state in the Union, this program was hopelessly inadequate to meet the larger problems which accompany the purchase and reforestation of these vast areas of idle farm land. The state has been distributing and planting about twenty-five million trees a year. Farmers have planted some; cities, villages and counties have planted some; and even the Four-H Club members planted a million trees last year, but all these together are a mere drop in the bucket.

About four years ago a legislative commission under the chairmanship of Senator Charles J. Hewitt was appointed to investigate the whole problem of reforestation. As a result of their studies, two pieces of legislation have been enacted. The first provides state aid to counties for reforestation work. If any county will purchase land and reforest it, the state will pay half of the cost of the land and the reforestation work up to a maximum of $5,000 to any one county in any one year. The forest, of course, remains the property of the county. The second piece of legislation was the so-called Hewitt constitutional amendment, which provided for a fifteen-year program appropriating a total of twenty million dollars to purchase and reforest something over a million acres of land. This constitutional amendment was approved by the people on November 3, 1931, and the state is now definitely embarked upon the program. For the past two years enlarged annual appropriations have been made looking forward to the beginning of this project, so it is already under way.

It is a tremendous task to reforest one million acres of land in fifteen years. Purchasing the land and clearing titles alone constitute a big job. The expect a landowner to go to much trouble in helping to clear titles on land for which he will receive $4 an acre. Nearly all of it is in small holdings of approximately one hundred acres each.

The state has five forest-tree nurseries. This year it has purchased land for an additional one. It will be necessary to purchase several additional nurseries of from seventy-five to one hundred acres each. These must ultimately produce from a hundred and fifty to two hundred million trees a year. Several of the new tree-planting machines are being used. These work well on old farm land with large, fairly level fields, where there is not much interference from stumps. They plant much more cheaply than hand labor.

One might ask, what do the people expect to get out of this big program? Why were they willing to vote for an expenditure of twenty million dollars? Remember that the studies preceding this work have been carried on during the past seven or eight years. The results of those studies have been presented through countless extension meetings. The people throughout the state have become acquainted with the situation. In the state government the movement has been a nonpartisan one. Apparently the voters expect to obtain the following things:

1. Timber. It is important to have a timber supply for future generations. Though this necessity is evident to foresters, the public is prone to consider it of slight importance.
2. Recreational opportunities. In a thickly congested state, opportunities for more hunting, fishing, camping and tramping in the open are becoming more and more necessary. These forests are to be public hunting grounds.
3. Prevention of floods and soil erosion.
4. Some possible modification of climate.
5. The forests will do much to beautify the country. The old abandoned farms with their tumbledown buildings and poorly kept fields are an eyesore to everyone.

Most important of all is the fact that public ownership and reforestation will change a process of destruction of natural resources to a process of conservation. Under private ownership this land was becoming poorer and poorer. It was constantly being "skinned" by lumbermen and others. It was the bait which unscrupulous real-estate agents used to cheat many Western and Southern farmers who wished to farm in the state. It has broken the hearts and pocketbooks of thousands of families who have attempted to farm it.

As New York State has analyzed the problem, there seem to be three definite steps which should be included in a program of land utilization. First, the land should be classified. This need not be an expensive project if the soil survey has already been completed. Although all kinds of detailed surveys

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Second, as soon as an area of land is determined to be unfitted for agriculture, it should be transferred to public ownership and used for growing trees, for recreational purposes, water-supply protection and other public purposes. In most cases this transfer must be made through the medium of private purchase and may require some time. The market is, however, always a "buyers' market." The state can purchase the land cheaply and it can wait many years, if necessary, to obtain it. There need be no coercion of individuals in this process.

Third, the land that is clearly suited for a permanent agriculture should be developed as highly as possible. This development includes hard-surfaced roads, good schools, good health facilities and rural electrification.

CARL E. LADD.

# Russian Pilgrimage

## IV: *Retreat from Moscow*

ONE BRIGHT morning with autumn in the air, Hindus and I had wandered about the Khamovniki, a river suburb where Tolstoy lived (the gloomy box house still stands). We came to a section where concrete flats were building. The streets were torn up; and their irregular and arbitrary plan upon the dump-filled meadow reminded me of the Bronx. There were a number of drab institutional houses in the chaos—one of the universities of Moscow!

We went in to the office. It was filled with girls; there seemed to be no difference either of years or purpose between the scholars and the office workers. A student was detailed to show us through. She was a woman of eighteen, pure proletarian of course (else she had not been granted the privilege of study). Her room was narrow; a grand piano filled most of it, leaving space for a single bed and a chair and a table. The piano had once stood in some banker's or merchant's salon, and murmured Chopin in response to a lady's dainty fingers. In the narrow bed slept both our guide and her husband.

"Aren't you crowded in that bed?" I asked.

"Oh, no. You see, with the piano, there is no room for a big one." The girl had made what is the conventional choice in Russia. What is physical comfort compared to a piano—when you want a piano?

This university was a world. We went through storerooms, kitchens, butcher shop, bakery. We sat in a dim basement dining room made bright by the eyes of the students. We visited the *crêche* and the dormitory kindergarten, where students who were mothers kept their young. Everywhere, only students; they dressed meat, they dressed babies, they balanced books. The university was a little world at work, integral and serene in its relation with the Soviet Union. Deep down in the Ukraine, there was an enormous *kolhoz*—a collective farm—which sent produce directly to the university, and the students went down there in groups for their vacations or to teach the peasants. Even the *crêche* was a conscious member of the U.S.S.R. Lenin looked down on the bright-hued

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that the *bourzhui* of old were ogres and that their immediate present land was Kingdom Come.

We had swapped guides several times as we went from house to house. Now, at the end of our visit (when you visit anything in Russia, be prepared to see *all*—no detail of routine, no apparatus, no storeroom will be spared you), we were in the hands of a girl built round like a peasant mother. She worked in the kitchen when she was not studying medicine. Her dress was a dingy gray, not free of grease, and her blond head was moist with the steam of cookery. But her body was hard like springtime. I liked her. Since we were leaving, she felt it her duty to accompany us to the tram. As we trudged through the unpaved field, she asked questions.

"What do American girls do?"

"They work in factories and offices, when they have to."

"What do they do, when they do what they want to?"

"They enjoy themselves."

"How do they enjoy themselves?"

"They go to dances, to the movies; they eat candy, they 'pet.'"

"Don't they have any work which they enjoy?"

"I doubt it . . . as a rule."

"Why do they work?"

"To get money, of course."

"What do they do with the money?"

"They spend it on themselves."

"Don't they think of anything but themselves?"

"Not often."

"Why do they think they are alive?"

"To have a good time."

She did not understand. Her eyes said clearly, that she found these girls a dull lot; that probably for reasons of my own I was maligning them.

"How do you spend *your* spare time," I asked her, "when you are not studying medicine or working in the kitchen? Surely, then, you enjoy yourself?"

"Of course." And she explained how she spent it; she had a class of illiterate mothers, every night

Communist). And there was a lot of reading to be done, along non-professional lines.

"What sort of reading is that?"

"Marxian theory," she answered.

"Do you always enjoy yourself?"

"Oh, yes," she murmured.

Our tram was about to leave.

"My class for illiterate mothers is only an hour," she said. "Then I go to my room. Come and see me."

I traveled from Berlin to Paris in a snug, soft second-class carriage: and it was one of the most painful journeys I have ever taken. I shared the compartment with three Americans and a knickered young man from the Balkans whose gun revealed the sport, whose portfolio advertised the artist, and whose red badge of the *Légion d'Honneur* pronounced the gentleman. The Americans were a single lady nervously rounding forty, and a married couple from the Middle West still hale at fifty.

As the train slid from the last Berlin station, the man pulled some books from his Gladstone. He opened one, and he and his wife read in it silently together. It was the Bible. He returned it to the bag, and opened an Edgar Wallace while his spouse settled to delight with The Saturday Evening Post.

But the single lady felt like talking. With one breath, she revealed her happy fate: she was a globetrotter, she knew China and Tahiti, Marrakech and Singapore, and she had just been in Russia. Why, the couple had been there also: in fact, they were living in Kharkov, where Mr. Sloan was an engineer assigned to the almost finished tractor works. They were returning to Omaha on a short vacation. And now the Balkan artist revealed that he was master of a fluent, peculiarly execrable English, and that he was just Dying to know the Truth about Russia.

That day they read no more in any book. While we sped across Thuringia and the Ruhr, cutting through the darkened industrial cities—Dortmund, Bochum, Essen; while we tunneled the hills and smoke of Belgium, while night enfolded us in Picardy, the questions and answers about Russia spun an incessant weft of words. If thoughts were visible, we should have seen when we reached Paris that our compartment was filled by a huge cobweb.

The engineer had a fund of stories on the mechanical ineptness of the Russians. He gave them with no ill feeling, as if aware that inferiority, being organic, was not the Russians' fault. The artist greeted his report with peals of gloating laughter. The engineer's wife satisfied his curiosity about food and service. He reveled over the high prices and the low standard of cooking. The globetrotter made contributions about the Russian inability to keep appointments or to make trains arrive on time. But she had praise for the hotel in Moscow he knew nothing about the government and he wanted to know nothing.

"They pay very well and promptly. The more you ask, the more they respect you. I know a man—a good man—who was offered a high technical post. He was eager to see Russia, so he told them he'd come for $10,000. They withdrew their offer: if that's all he is worth, they said, we don't want him."

"Some Americans," explained the wife, "criticize our engineers for helping the Russians. I think it is foolish. As if they could hurt America! Why, if our men don't take the jobs, other folks will. We might as well have them as a lot of foreigners."

"The Russians can never rival us," said the engineer, "it isn't in them. We might as well help them to their feet. The more civilized they get, of course, the closer they'll come to our way of thinking."

"Inevitably," said the artist.

"Besides," the engineer went on, "most of our men are there only while the depression lasts. Give 'em a chance to earn a decent living at home, and you'll find them making a bee-line for the States. It's a mere stop-gap."

"And they *are* nice to us," assured the lady. "They give us anything we want . . . much more than *they* have. We have most of our money deposited in dollars in a New York bank; we take only as many rubles as we can use. And we have a car for nothing—and a nice house for a song."

"How do *they* live?" asked the artist.

"Oh, terrible. At least one family in every room. Men sleeping on the floor. In all big cities."

"In the country they live like pigs," said the globetrotting lady.

"Of course," nodded the artist.

I was waiting—waiting for one word which would reveal that these good people had somehow felt, somehow been moved by Russia. They were good people. Did not the engineer and his wife begin each day with Bible reading? Was not the single lady so charmed by the human race that she submitted to the rigors of travel in order to observe it? Had not the gentleman been honored by France as a patriot or an artist? Hour after hour I waited the word that did not come. No word of the human meaning of the Russian effort to abolish poverty, fear and ignorance from earth. No word of the bravery of its backward folk, daring to set forth alone to create for the first time a world without economic and spiritual slaves. Perhaps they felt that the attempt had failed? Yet there was no word of Russia's native genius—of its music, of its writers, of its profound humanity. The engineer and his wife had actually lived there: had they had no talk with maid or man that revealed a beauty worth relating? They were citizens of a progressive country: was there nothing to report about the seven-hour day, the five-day week? What of the land that gave every pregnant woman

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medical care to everyone? that eliminated the insecurity of age, illness, unemployment? On such details of fact, as on the Russian theories, the hours brought silence.

I had made the vow that I would not speak; I would give these brothers and sisters no inkling that I, too, had been in Russia. Now, in my forced silence I felt hate welling within me. Yes: it would be sweet to take these four in the stride of Revolution, give them a chance to squeal for an instant, and destroy them. Could one argue with them? Two of them had lived in Russia; one had crossed the globe to visit Russia, one was so concerned with Russia that he held the talk to the subject from Berlin to Paris. Yet they had seen nothing, felt nothing, heard nothing. My hate was making me uncomfortable. I knew that I could down it only with understanding.

I made myself observe the four good people. They *were* good! The engineer was a handsome fellow, upright and stern: a man you could trust. His wife's plain face showed the faithful mate and mother. In early Omaha days doubtless she had cooked and slaved for her children. The globe-trotting lady was rather short on brain, but of good heart. Life had hurt her; the little lines about her eyes betrayed that she had flinched when pain confronted her; she was alone, and escaping forever, forever vainly, from herself. Even the artist was nothing worse than a self-indulgent boy whom a cheap world had encouraged with flattery: he had never been made to grow, never been led to question whether his facile talent justified the fat of the land on which he took his ease. They were products, these four, of three phases of bourgeois culture: the American Middle West, the Upper West Side of New York City, and the rue de la Paix. They were unable of their own effort to rise above their culture's level. If they could not feel life in any terms but their own, it was best to blame their culture. (And it was far more bearable to me, since this attitude saved me from the ravage of personal anger.)

I thought of the Volga *muzhiks*. How contemptible they would have seemed to these four civilized persons. Their rags, their feet sweating in bast or straw, their greasy caps and shawls, the mire of their roads, the grime of their *izbas*. . . . And yet I knew that only the dullest of them could have spent even a day in Paris or New York without more sensitive response to the strange world than the response of these Westerners to Russia. Why was this? Was it perhaps because the *muzhik* was more conscious of *his own world*—its nature and values, than the artist was of Paris, the single lady of New York, the engineer of his industrial realm? We know others only in so far as we know ourselves. The peasant, the unsophisticated toiler, have a self-knowledge humble but authentic. This, our western culture has merely covered and destroyed with a patina of lies. And that is why there is more hope in the uncultured workers of all races: more hope, not because we idealize or romanticize their sodden state, but because the finished product of modern rationalist-capitalist culture is hopeless.

WALDO FRANK.

# The Poet and the Passwords

ON THE nineteenth of his "Attic Nights," Aulus Gellius tells a story of a Stoic philosopher, who was in a shipwreck. Now, this Stoic philosopher, despite his doctrines, had been greatly disturbed during the shipwreck, whereas a certain rich and showy Greek from Asia had been quite calm. After the shipwreck had been successfully weathered and the storm had subsided, the provincial Greek began to twit the Stoic for his uneasiness, saying: "You are a Stoic philosopher, I am not; yet you were pale with terror during that storm, and I was neither pale nor terrified." To which the Stoic answered: "Quite true; I was more frightened than you were. But consider how much more I had to lose."

Like this imperfect Stoic, one may look with boastful uneasiness upon the transitory qualities of the contemporary scene (uneasiness being the emotional counterpart to a deep premonition of change). In change we lose something that we may gain something else—and one becomes uneasy at all the factors by which our essential privileges might gain than with what he shall surely lose. One may fear the loss of continuity. Precisely through considering what remarkable things have been amassed during the processes of Western culture, one may feel like an owner of them, and may bother himself with the thought that these might be destroyed through some vast international upheaval. He has, before him, an anthology of Europe—and as there is only one copy, he may be gravely worried lest it become misplaced.

The attitude has recently been expressed, with many ramifications, in Glenway Wescott's volume of essays, "Fear and Trembling." Sometimes with suavity, sometimes with brilliance, sometimes too prettily (the author should either have written less ambitious sentences, or should have taken more time to write them), he states what we might call the "philosophy of privilege"—and with Goethe's dictum that "fear and trembling is the best part of man" to back him, he sets to fearing and trembling

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Wescott's creed, reduced to its simplest terms, would seem to be that other people should enjoy, as much as he, the preserving and swelling of the archives. Life should be a search for simple pleasures. He thus mentions the "miracles of digestion," to indicate that, if we eat at all, we should eat with astonishment. The body is capable of certain sensuous, sentimental and intellectual pleasures. They should be more strongly stressed—our ambitions should be made to stop here, if possible. Turning, then, to the world in general, one should apply the same principle: "Might not the earth simply be enjoyed, as just a larger, fleshier body than the one in which each of us exists by himself, and is almost at liberty to enjoy as he likes?"

Indeed, it might not. Here enters the difficulty. Wescott and three friends, setting out in a car through central Europe, in search of nothing other than such personal gratifications as would be in keeping with this code of amenities, found such humble absorbings wholly inapposite to the season. "Everywhere we kept finding references to affairs of state. Every impression came to us seemingly saturated in advance with unwelcome impersonal feeling." Not what happened to them, but what was in the air, forced them to admit that "no country, nothing in any country, can be regarded from a quite personal point of view these days. Palaces are, above all, examples of either private property or nationalized wealth." When looking at the vegetables in Les Halles, like plucking a daisy and holding it up before one and drawing therefrom a lesson, Wescott is encouraged to find in the murder of these patient things a sweet alternative to the murder of other men; but the harsher kinds of facts, the non-epicurean, non-esthetic facts, the facts of politics, industry, economics, of warped ambitions, of greeds so unnatural that fullness but makes them greedier, compel the author to observe almost archaically: "The problem of pleasure . . . still needs solving."

Hence the underlying machinery of this book. Wescott is really concerned with such milk of human kindness as might come of contented human kine. He holds that if all men had but learned to enjoy their darling personal potentialities, their genius as meditative vegetables, they might never have felt obliged, before they could consider their lives well spent, to drive thousands of their fellows into coal mines at certain seasons, and at certain other seasons drive them out again. He is really concerned with the Voltairean lesson, the culture that comes of tending one's own garden—and this concern, at this time, is malapropos for a peculiar reason: Because people have for so long based their self-respect upon the coercion of other people rather than upon the use of their gifts as human vegetables (superior vegetables, since they really know how they could avoid crowding, as their blunter cousins do not) that they *force* a man into political and economic worries. If one were to slogan, "Let me alone," even with this non-aggressive slogan he would become a meddler, since he must drive off the meddlers, and since the doctrine of laissez-faire has meant, in practice, not to refrain from interfering, but to refrain from interfering with those who were interfering.

He thus finds the public business upset by the inanity of private lives. He fears "so many men's boredom, and their wish in consequence to have new desires and hopes constantly aroused in themselves, and then, naturally, to have those satisfied." He fears "the resentment of those who are unsuccessful according to these false standards," and foresees them "loosely shifting and settling on an enemy." He fears "the selfishness of investors and industrialists—no, not even their selfishness, but the foolishness of their selfishness at any given moment." Thus, where the book seems inapposite, it seems so through a deeper appositeness: it is really dealing not with the particular expedients that might lead us out of our present troubles, but with the crooked ways of living and thinking that originally got us into them.

For this reason he dares distrust Russia, a country which has shown far too much respect for America, importing too many of our mechanics and plumbers, and whose new social system, so far as the behavioristic symptoms go, would seem to differ from ours primarily in the fact that its economic provisions make possible precisely the materialistic development, the worship of industry and toil, which the profit element in our capitalistic economy is always impairing. Communism, that is, is the perfect scheme for mass production, since it is the perfect scheme for mass consumption, offering a far better distribution of buying power than is possible to orthodox capitalism. Thus we seem faced with the industrialist plague all over again, only this time in a more adequate form: the glorification of a system, not because it provides *leisure,* but because it provides *jobs.* So he fears and trembles at the spectacle of this human beehive, which in its evangelical zeal has glorified workers at work, though man's really vital problem, the "problem of pleasure," is a problem for after-hours.

Wescott's title, however, with its backing in the words of such an "Answerer" as Goethe, can trick him. For by giving him the authority to fear and tremble, it tends to make him go in search of situations whereat he may fear and tremble. In particular, he should find nothing but solace in the Russian experiment, in the thought that it is being carried on, that imaginative and well documented people have had a hand in it, and that the distresses of the capitalist countries have given it more freedom from vital interference than its plotters could reasonably have expected. Here, but for the title of his book, Wescott could have exulted. For as a literary man, he would certainly be pledged in advance to any vast social experiment—and as a

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if he chooses and is luckier than many of us, be comforted at the thought that he is elsewhere while it is going through the stages he does not approve of, and thus can wait, outside the lines, until he sees whether, as the various industrial programs are completed, leisure really does arise there after all (as it has already arisen in ghastly disguise, in capitalist countries, under the name of unemployment). For in time the workers' republic must either become two-car conscious, or become an idlers' republic.

Wescott fears most, however, the next Great War. In its efficiency, and its aimlessness, he fears a great cultural desolation. He does not directly consider how much of our culture was lost already, and precisely during the years of prosperity. He thinks that war will be followed by revolution, that both will entail a great cutting away of amenities—yet he does not evaluate revolution as an alternative of war, as the simplest way of preventing precisely the kind of warped living that makes his dreaded war both a Need and a Tonic, "a very Eleusis of love-making; the thrill of more danger than ever, more picturesque than ever, the chemicals of the killed as well as those that kill making a better aphrodisiac than ever, so that the most moderate of men, physiologically, may have as good a reason to be pleased with themselves as any old eloquent Don Juan." Revolution (change from past practices) we must have—whether it be by direct and bloody confiscation or by the cunning and indirect confiscation that would come of enormously augmented taxes upon private wealth.

Wescott's position is perhaps best typified in his distinction between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries:

> All during the nineteenth century, there was laborious reasoning . . . and tireless scientific experiment: the mind of man busy learning that God was no more divine . . . than the digestion of food, the shattering of light. . . . Now, during the twentieth . . . we must learn . . . the same lesson the other way round. . . . Scientists look at the orchid through a microscope and discover that it is only a little mottled liver and avid sexual organs. Now if we, personally, can look at our liver and sexual organs and see that they are a bouquet of orchids—well and good. . . . Otherwise, haunted by the thought that God is but a vast digestion, the orchid but a little liver, what more natural than that we should go to pieces in the reckless effort to amuse ourselves, seeking distraction from the thought? Piling up fictions in our minds, and unsound money and unwanted arms all over the world, with sensational shocks to ever touchier vanity and habit-forming salves and facile consolations, treacherous and secretive, in secret disgust—what more natural than that we should all kill each other finally, nation against nation, just as a roundabout way of committing suicide?

Here Wescott fails to pronounce the password, since here he fails to accept a few rudimentary economic principles as the prime movers of historic *vocabulary*, as the fulcrum of our behavior in history. In this I think he is closer to accuracy than he may seem. Consider our treatment of the criminal, for instance, if we approach him from the vocabulary of sufficient grace, whereby we look upon his transgressions as a deliberate choice of "evil" where he might as well have chosen "good," so that we make our prison justice "retributive." Contrast this with our treatment of him if we approach him from the vocabulary of determinism, whereby his transgressions become "symptomatic" and justice becomes rather a matter of prophylaxis and reclamation. Here we see the destiny of thousands dependent upon a mere shift in terminology. And similarly: one man, dismissed from a job, but having a Marxian "configuration of meanings," will fit his particular fate into a larger social process, and so feel resentment rather than humiliation, and may perhaps organize an ominous hunger march; another, similarly dismissed, and with only the older pioneer configuration, the doctrine that ability will out, takes his dismissal simply as an evidence that he was insufficiently endowed, and so may slink out of existence with a few pilfered sniffs of the gas company's gas. Such, to my mind, are the matters of terminology that make us act one way rather than another under a specific situation and that, accordingly, deny the situation itself as prime mover. The best argument I can see in favor of getting one's head cracked for Marx would be the denial of Marx's economic determinism—for if our ideas are determined by the situation, then we could quite simply sit back and let the situation determine them, fortified in our knowledge that an inevitable historic process should be a damned sight stronger than the enemy, be the enemy a gang of gangsters or a consortium of bankers.

We have, in recent years, heard much talk of a "new vocabulary." I suggest that Wescott's book gives inklings of what this new vocabulary would be. It would involve the rediscovery of an old vocabulary—and to make myself as unpopular as possible, I shall call it the slave-owners' vocabulary, the leisure-class vocabulary, the vocabulary of the privileged citizens of Athens and the pleasantly corrupted hedonists of late Rome, who pursued their speculations at the expense of countless bended backs—except that in the instance of today, these backs would not be human backs, nor even the backs of beasts, but the insensate forms of engines. Let us but change our words, let us try to put the word "leisure" in the place of the word "unemployment," and let us set about to examine all the implications radiating from this initial shift in terminology (a terminology dating from the days when toil was the prime condition of survival), and the absurdity of plans for "making work" promptly becomes apparent. If Sisyphus were to come among us, complaining, because each time he had borne his rock to the top of the hill it rolled down again [illegible]

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imagine nothing grander than an endless Sisyphean burden, a rock that rolled down a hill each time they got it to the top, and that had to be rolled to the top again, this over and over, plus a living wage (as Sisyphus obviously enjoyed in hell, since he couldn't die there). Yes, the "problem of pleasure" is still unsolved, when the greatest curse upon modern life arises out of the fact that, despite all manner of new needs, our labor-saving devices had begun, inexorably, to save labor—for how could we go on selling cars unless the Guggenheims were willing, with their copper profits, to buy 200,000 Fords annually; and how go on mining copper unless Ford were willing, with his automobile profits, to build himself a copper pyramid to shame Cheops?

This is the economist's day, in so far as the economist must formulate the economic expedients by which the collective wealth is made collectively available, shaping these changes to make them best conform with the past institutions and ways of thought in each individual country. It is the day of the new politicians, and of their pamphleteering and soapbox allies, who must find the strategy for best placing these expedients favorably before the people. It is the day of the poets and the novelists in that they must subtly complement this work by their manipulation of vocabulary, by their almost imperceptible uncrowning of words formerly privileged, and their enshrining of words formerly neglected, so that "dissipation" might even emerge as "relaxation," "idleness" as "opportunity," and practical ambition" as "grave social risk." The esthetic, the "problem of pleasure," must come to form the fulcrum of our thinking, the basis of our self-respect, the incentive of our new muscularity, lest we become "a finished race, a race that changed in every way but could not sufficiently change its mind."

KENNETH BURKE.

# Washington Notes

*The R.F.C. and the Campaign—Ringing in a Democrat—Hoover's Acceptance Speech—The Roosevelt Tactics*

THESE may be the dull days of the campaign; certainly in Washington they are relatively dull after that hectic last week of the session. With Congress adjourned, there is little left here save the hard-working President and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Naturally, at the moment, business interest in the country is to a considerable extent concentrated upon this particular organization because of the enormous expansion of the powers and resources delegated to it by the relief bill. This board has become the most powerful peacetime agency ever created by any government, and the amazing thing to me is that there is not a greater public interest in it. Before the campaign ends, I feel sure that the public [illegible] and understanding of what [illegible]

The more thoughtful men around Mr. Hoover have for some months believed that it would inevitably be the subject of severe political attack. They were, in fact, more than a little surprised that it came through the session of Congress with so few scars. The assault, I think, was just beginning when the end came. Various Senators were working themselves into quite a fever over the $85,000,000 loan to the Dawes bank, about which I think a great deal will be heard before many months are past. The actual facts, which I am not in a position to reveal, make a rather dramatic story. This much can be said: after the Dawes loan, which was made while the Democratic Convention was in progress in Chicago, there was a general conference at the White House on the whole reconstruction situation and certain conclusions were reached. One of them was that the board would be a prime Democratic target in the campaign; another, that the head of the Federal Reserve Board should not be the dominant man in the R.F.C. It put too great power in the hands of a single individual and it was impossible for him to do justice to both jobs.

What is more, Eugene Meyer, who has held the two jobs since the creation of the R.F.C., has not been well for some weeks. He was not pushed out, nor eased out. On the other hand, there was a general agreement that he should retire. After he had done so, the great political minds in the White House group conceived the idea—and a sound one it was, too—that the way to repulse an attack on this great governmental agency and create public confidence in its performance was to appoint a Democrat as an additional member and thus make the board nonpartisan, with the Democrats sharing equally in the responsibility.

It was a political move and the Democratic refusal to fall in with the scheme was equally political. The next effort of the White House, still concentrated upon making the Corporation critic-proof, was to select an outstanding Democrat to succeed Mr. Meyer. As was natural, the name of Owen D. Young came up for discussion. I happen to know that the offer was authoritatively made to Mr. Young and was declined for the same personal reasons which made him refuse the Democratic presidential nomination. Undiscouraged by this, the administration pursued its search. At the moment I write, the name of another outstanding Democrat, also at one time a presidential possibility, is being considered. Perhaps before this is printed he may have been appointed—and in his case there will be no question of a refusal. He'll take the job.

Now that Congress has left our hard-working President in peace with most of his program for economic rehabilitation as he wanted it, the hardest work now facing him is to write his speech of acceptance, due to be delivered the second week in August. Interest in that, as I pointed out a week ago, is concentrated on what he will say on the subject of prohibition. In times such as these, it is absurd that this should be so, but it is none the less. Last week I mentioned the feeling that Mr. Hoover would declare not only in favor of that portion of the Republican plank which provides for a vote as to the retention of the Eighteenth Amendment or the adoption of the States' Rights substitute, but will emphatically declare in favor of the substitute. This feeling has been strengthened during

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If the men who really have his confidence can be relied upon, his approval of the substitute amendment will be unequivocal and unqualified. This, I think, will please the Wets and should help the Hoover ticket in New York and other Atlantic Coast states. It will make the position of the Wet Republican women who bolted less effective, and give a stronger tone to the Wet organization leaders in these states.

On the Democratic side, reports of various kinds are being circulated about Democratic "strategy" for the campaign. The plan of Leader Howe and Leader Farley seems to run somewhat along this line: they argue that their progressive support is practically united and complete. Every liberal in the country is behind Roosevelt, and the progressive nature of the candidate and ticket needs no further advertisement. What they must do is to get into line the leading conservative Democrats, aside from the Smith and Hague type, who were hostile to Roosevelt at Chicago and who would vastly have preferred anyone else.

This seems a reasonable idea and certainly Roosevelt's efforts have for the past week been directed along these lines. One of his first visitors at Albany was Mr. B. M. Baruch, who has in his time given more money to the Democratic party than Mr. Raskob, but talks less about it. Mr. Baruch, I am told, was transformed by his call on Roosevelt from a lukewarm advocate to a rather ardent Roosevelt rooter. He came away, it seems, "completely assured" of the soundness of the candidate, convinced he would utter no radical word or phrase during the campaign, convinced, further, that he would surround himself, if elected, with "good men." Perhaps Mr. Baruch may have an idea of just the kind of men with whom a President should "surround himself." Perhaps he has—and I am willing to bet his idea is that one of these men should be at least not less than six feet, three inches tall.

Washington. T. R. B.

# Not on the Ticker Tape

WHILE academicians debate about the dangers of inflation, the money lenders of the country continue ruthlessly to contract credit. Even since the Federal Reserve System released a billion dollars of additional reserve credit through an open-market acquisition of government securities, reporting member banks in New York and elsewhere have continued drastically to cut down loans. An increase in investments by banks has partially offset the shrinkage, but even in the lumped figure for both loans and investments there has been a further alarming reduction.

As bank presidents glibly deny the charge that they have been hoarding credit, bank credit continues to contract. There has been a net decline in reporting member bank loans and investments of $1,128,000,000 since the quasi-inflationary Glass-Steagall Act was adopted on February 27, and a net decline of $1,574,000,000 since the Reconstruction Finance Corporation Act became a law on January 22. The net decline since the new Federal Reserve policy was adopted on February 24 amounts to $1,128,000,000, and since the first of the year to $2,054,000,000. the rate of 25 percent a year in the last quarter of 1931. Although the New York banks showed an encouraging reversal of trend in the week of June 29, this rally has not been subsequently continued. No business situation or price structure can stand such a ruthless contraction of circulating medium as has taken place in the last year and a half.

Thus far, the private banks in New York have shown little social responsibility, each individual bank merely seeking a storm-cellar for itself. Students of banking recognize that one individual bank is not in the same position as the banking situation as a whole. The individual bank must allow for the panicky policies of other competing banks. But the unrestricted process of contraction itself becomes a major factor in the economic situation.

By failing to force "reflation," through a bold public-works policy Congress has again left the situation up to the banks. The Young Committee in New York was launched to create unity of command. The next move should be to get the New York banks as the leaders to agree to stop making any further net declines in total loans and investments. The medium for effective action would seem to be the New York Clearing House Association, whose announcement of a new and more constructive banking policy would become a significant financial event. Up to the present, however, the banks have subordinated the social consequences of their policies to their mania for liquidity, which entails a retirement from the normal risks of banking. If the banks want to keep the government out of the banking business, it behooves them to stay in it.

In turning thumbs down on a bond issue for public works, the administration was guided by the prejudices of the New York money market. The logic in Wall Street was that a further large bond issue would depreciate outstanding government bonds, which are largely in the hands of banks and insurance companies, and would tend to get their resources below the water line. This argument could have been met by a euphemistic ruling by the bank examiners and insurance departments to the effect that such institutions could carry United States government obligations on their books at face value, instead of at market value. Such a ruling is in harmony with decisions made in respect to general investments of insurance companies. In New York, it has been agreed that the insurance companies may take up their assets on their books at the average between prices prevailing on June 30, 1931, and June 30, 1932. Incidentally, it would be convenient if we needy individuals with collateral loans could suggest similar fictions to the money lenders, who in a hard-boiled manner appraise our resources at the market.

The New York banks have little direct financial interest in outstanding German dollar bonds, but have a huge stake in short-term commercial credits in Germany. American banks, at the time the standstill agreement was made, had $350,000,000 tied up in loans to German financial institutions. When a final showdown is made with Germany, the banks may be expected to throw their influence in favor of the short-term credits, while neglecting the bonds which are in the hands of scattered individual inves-

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When Calvin Coolidge published an article the other day in Collier's Weekly, advocating the sales tax, his words fitted in very nicely with a propaganda campaign which is just getting under way designed to persuade the country to accept the sales tax in the next session of Congress. The Hearst newspapers are whooping it up for the proposal in accordance with Hearst's general principle that taxes should be laid on other people than millionaires. Mr. Hearst is a millionaire himself. It will be remembered that there were deep-laid plans to put over the sales tax at the last meeting of Congress, but the wild and woolly La Guardia upset the apple cart. He, or somebody, will need to be even wilder and woollier at the next session.

The railroads of the country, by means of the Association of Railroad Executives, are again passing around the tin cup. They are getting enormous sums of money from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, though it is to be doubted whether, in the long run, these loans constitute a wise public policy. They serve to freeze some bad situations; among other things, they keep incompetent managers in their positions. The great indictment of the railroads is, of course, inertia. While everything else was being improved through technical advances, railroad presidents, collecting their huge salaries, were content to go on with equipment very little different from that of the nineties. Their backwardness is the more noticeable because the automobile —their chief competitor—has been so notably progressive.

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation has come in for a lot of grief lately, and is going to see a lot more. I learn that Governor Roosevelt, like many other people, thinks that the Corporation has been negligent, and he will probably say so publicly in the near future. He is particularly critical of the Corporation's action in granting huge loans to banks and insurance companies without getting in return a definite promise that these companies will be more lenient with their own clients—namely, with their mortgagees and other distressed borrowers. I understand that Mr. Roosevelt would have the Reconstruction Finance Corporation require of its borrowers a pledge that they will reduce interest charges on old loans before they can get any money. At least one of the state chairmen coöperating with the Reconstruction Finance Corporation has publicly expressed his dissatisfaction because the R. F. C., in lending to banks, fails to insist on improved management. He suggests that in communities which have too many banks, the corporation should demand mergers, with the understanding that it will strongly support the new and more stable institutions. He thinks the corporation has laid too much emphasis on getting vast amounts of security (some of it pretty dubious) and has paid too little attention to the character of the management. In other words, it has disregarded old J. P. Morgan's advice that loans should be made on character, not on collateral. Certainly, when we consider the mismanagement of banks, particularly in certain sections of the Middle West, during the past decade, it seems incredible that anybody should be anxious to keep the same type of management in power. Even a Hoover commission ought to know better than that.

*the depression is over. Maybe it is, but I should feel* happier about it if the papers wouldn't mention the good news. On every other occasion when they have predicted prosperity, the country has promptly fallen over a cliff into the sea.

This time, it is the price of hogs which is supposed to show us the way out of the valley. The rise in livestock prices in the last six weeks has encouraged people over wide areas in the Middle West, where times have been so hard that pessimism has been the order of the day. Even in that district, the paralyzed minds of business men have awakened to the axiom that commodity prices couldn't forever continue in one direction.

Accordingly, there have been some early signs of "exploring for the bottom." In several branches of trade, such as children's apparel, fashion fabrics and toys, certain manufacturers are guaranteeing that their prices will be maintained for three or four months, or at least up to and including the delivery date. In other words, they are trying to break the buyers' strike by removing fear that other dealers who wait a little will be able to buy cheaper still. These are encouraging signs—but I refuse to believe that dawn is coming until the sun is clear above the horizon.

L. M. N.

# Deep South Notes

## I: Uncle Sam's Plantation

LONG BEFORE those later chapters in "Old Louisiana" start you north on a plantation tour, Mr. Lyle Saxon has created the state of mind for it and given you the key. Some parts of this book I confess to have read five or six times over, taking in the spell and variety and fertile warmth of the country he writes of, absorbing an eager, wandering greed to travel the roads, visit the plantations and ride along the streams of this languid, intense and rich, lush world of the Deep South. Mr. Saxon records out of his own memories, out of notebooks made during journeys as a student of the region, out of old diaries, letters and newspapers. He has given us sometimes the history and legend, sometimes the various living and circumstance. We have the plantation life, the system, the conditions of master and slave, the family bonds and ways, Christmas, cakewalks, floods—all the lights and shadows of the scene. At the risk of some good private dullness on my part, I am setting down a handful of notes on two or three of the plantation houses from a more critical and comparative view than Mr. Saxon's pages intend.

A great number of the finest plantation houses in Louisiana and Mississippi lie along the river. They differ in size and style. The number of rooms varies from eight or ten on up to the largest of these establishments, which has seventy-five. The style varies from the common or merely stereotyped to genuine and significant domestic design. These houses follow the river, each house with its landing where passed the steamboats going north and south. Sometimes the house itself stood nearer the river, sometimes a garden lay between or a great grove of trees, magnificent water oaks with the moss hanging down from their branches,

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tion houses were protected from the uncertain waters of the Mississippi pouring its flood toward the gulf; the levee was the prime factor in their fortunes and prosperity. But the river, as years pass, changes its course. There are signs of caving in along the bank, a pressure altered to another spot, a fissure; the river can be kept in hand only by changing the levee line. The number of houses that have already gone into the river is an old tale; a man's father will tell you of twelve or fifteen places that he himself has known during his own lifetime to go that way.

Before you come to Uncle Sam's Plantation there are diverse others that you must pass, some of them in ruins, some lived in still and not without a good deal of the old manner. Among all these houses, but now neglected, Ormond is the best. Ormond is one of the happiest and most charming pieces of domestic architecture in America, not to say a lesson and rebuke for most of our Florida effusions. It is a wide house of two stories, faded now to a fine tone of reddish yellow and brown. The lower story is brick, the upper wood; the brick piers of the lower gallery are square; the colonettes above are of hewn cypress. At either side of the house is a wing, joined by porches, the upper porches with railings. Both these wings are higher than the house itself; the wing on the left is somewhat higher than that on the right. The whole house can be thrown open like a pavilion.

Three miles before Uncle Sam's Plantation is Jefferson College, built in the thirties. Except for an occasional Catholic retreat during some brief week-end, the great place is deserted. The hedges of the formal garden leading from the gate are neglected; the statues of saints rise white from a tangle of green at their feet. The roses bloom, the jasmines, magnolias and crêpe myrtles take their own course; though still, beyond the columns of the front gallery and down the cool hall and then again beyond the columns at the rear, the fountain is playing. Nothing that romance has ever set forth as part of this region is lacking here: the drive down the avenue of water oaks, high overhead, draped with moss, into the grounds with their white walls, their low white buildings like barracks in the taste of Louis XIV, the open sky, the thick shade, the chapel in nineteenth-century Gothic, the cicadas, the birds, the air of silence and light. The columns around the main building are simple, a trifle coarse but heavy and effective in that atmosphere. The white stone columns of the lodges on each side the wide gate at the old river entrance are delicate and fluted Ionic.

Forty or more cabins, plus a sort of dormitory building for extra hands in the season, belong to Uncle Sam's Plantation; there are a sugar mill and stretches of green cane fields. But none of this belongs to the planter's house; everything appears only as the world from which his place arises. Once there was a grove that led to the house in front, but the Mississippi has carried it off; the levee is now within a hundred yards of the door. A few miles above we shall see where the levee work is in progress. It moves inward here, to the east; and in a few years Uncle Sam's Plantation may be gone. The New Orleans museum should have a model made of it while there is yet time. There is already no garden left and the superb composition of the group of buildings mat-

lect; save for the plantation manager in one of the smaller houses, everything is closed and empty.

The buildings at Uncle Sam's are painted yellow, their columns and their simple architectural details white. The main house measures something like ninety by a hundred feet, surrounded on the four sides by twenty-eight Doric columns. The entablature is wide and plain. An upper and a lower gallery extend around the house; the window shutters are green; those below give on to the lower gallery. On each side of this building, finely balanced with it, are smaller, oblong buildings, their length parallel with the front of the main house; front and back they have galleries with columns. They are the *garconnières,* intended for the planter's sons or for guests.

In the space between these smaller buildings and the main building, but set well back from the rear of the latter, are two others. They are smaller than the *garçonnières,* and reverse the position: it is their ends that parallel the main house. At each of these ends is a gallery with columns. They look like little temples serving thus the larger buildings. On a line with the little templelike buildings, at each side, and farther out than the *garçonnière,* is an octagonal tower with a pointed roof. The little buildings could be used as offices for the plantation business or for supplies, perhaps; the two towers are the *pigeonnières.*

Anyone going up along the levee road like this, passing these country houses near the river, must be reminded of the Brenta and the villas built long ago by the Venetian noble families for their country seats. The boats coming to the landings along the Mississippi, the level lush fields, the heavy green, the soft air, the plenty of the living, with its family sense and its tenants, carry the thoughts back to the Brenta. Along the Brenta many of the villas are Palladian, some of them in the more elaborate high baroque. Uncle Sam's belongs to our neo-classic period. It is not a little to say that, leaving out Strá, of course, and the more splendid of the Venetian instances, there is many a Brenta villa not so good as Uncle Sam's Plantation, with less dignity in mood and less poetry in the whole mass, as we see this place, stripped now of its grove and garden and care, but standing with its yellow walls and its white columns, so finely varied in scale, in the midst of the magnolias and live oaks. The beauty and air of it is as real as the ground beneath; it lives solidly and clearly in the sun.

Among American neo-classic buildings that I have seen, either in fact or in books on architecture, none seems to me so fine as this at Uncle Sam's, so solid with the country and occupation around it, so masculine in conception.

I ask myself, finally, what it is that the sun does? For the same thing happens here that happens in Italy. You leave the various particular beauty of Mantua or Tuscany or Assisi and come to the South, to the district of Naples, shall we say? You leave New England and Virginia and come into the Deep South, where Uncle Sam's Plantation is. There is less detail, less also of many profound and beautiful elements. But there is in general a large, clear force of composition, rich creation in terms of simple mass, a renewed subtlety of lay-out, an impression of grave ease,

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# A COMMUNICATION

## Education—for What?

SIR: Next to the perennial, "There ought to be a law," the favorite shibboleth of all good Americans who seek to advance any particular social doctrine is, "Let us teach it in our schools." And the schools have been singularly responsive to many of these demands. Thus for years all physiology books contained a lurid section demonstrating the deleterious effects of alcohol on the vital organs, sections which may or may not have hastened the advent of the "noble experiment." Similarly, though more subtly, various university professors have been led to see the light and have expounded theories favorable to the great utility companies. In Fundamentalist communities, the findings of modern science have been successfully withheld from growing boys and girls. And schools run by Free Thinkers, Single Taxers, Mormons, Seventh Day Adventists, Theosophists and pink Socialists each reflect the dominant philosophy of those in control.

This use of the schools as agencies for propagating particular faiths is nothing new. The Catholic Church of course has long maintained separate institutions for the purpose. "My principal aim in the establishment of a teaching body," said Napoleon, "is to have a means for directing political and moral opinion." And Bismarck declared, "The soul of a child is like wax. Therefore he who directs the schools directs the country's future." In present-day Russian schools the principles and tenets of Communism are exclusively emphasized, just as in America the principles and beliefs are inculcated of a competitive, industrial, capitalistic society. When we say therefore that all forms of propaganda must be kept out of the schools, we mean merely that only such propaganda as is in harmony with the aspirations of the larger community shall be tolerated.

It must be obvious, then, that schools cannot lead in any program of social reconstruction. Certainly it would not appear that agitation for radical revision of the social order along collectivist lines such as Dr. Counts suggests in The New Republic of May 18 and 25 would be permitted in this country. For teachers can only follow and reflect the ideas and beliefs of the community they serve. Dr. Counts of course admits this when he says that, in terms of the past, "on all genuinely crucial matters the school follows the wishes of the groups or classes that actually rule society." But then he lamely adds, "The future may be unlike the past. Or perhaps I should say that teachers, if they could increase sufficiently their stock of courage, intelligence and vision, might become a social source of some magnitude." Yet on this point Dr. Counts, when he faces realities instead of indulging in wishful thinking, is quite explicit elsewhere. In his vital little book, "The American Road to Culture," he says: "The school in America is conservative because the American people are essentially conservative. Apparently . . . the creative impulses which launched the republic have largely spent themselves." Moreover, he adds, interest in modifying the social structure is at a low ebb, for the present structure has achieved material prosperity.

Now it is two years since this book was published, and . . . reconstruction as that of Dr. Counts will fall on willing ears everywhere. But to expect teachers to lead us out of our morass is fantastic indeed. This is not to claim that within the profession are not innumerable individuals of courage and vision, but a class long trained to social docility and economically protected by life tenure of office—on good behavior—is unlikely to challenge unduly the status quo.

Nor is there any particular reason to believe that teachers, even "scientists and scholars of the highest rank," could use power wisely were they able to seize it. In none of the great emergencies of history have the the intellectual classes played a distinguishing part. We have to go back only a few years to observe the alacrity with which teachers and philosophers in every nation rushed to ally themselves with the powers of destruction. To be sure, the intellectuals of that time rationalized their stand by assuming that they were supplying the necessary intelligent control to ensure that the war serve democratic ends. The colossal conceit of these puny men has, alas, been sadly justified of its fruit, but here is so responsible a thinker as Dr. Counts actually urging that in what he calls these parlous and dangerous times, we again turn to this class for leadership.

Must the schools then stand helplessly by while a whole social order drifts miserably to destruction? This does not appear to me to be the only alternative. For while the dominant forces in America would appear to be dedicated to an acquisitive, competitive and materialistic conception of life, other old and potent forces exist as well, forces which did not die when the first creative energies of nation building had spent themselves, forces which it is likely that the present depression will release in growing measure. I refer of course to the unappeasable hunger in men for spiritual values, a hunger even more revolutionary in essence than the age-old hunger for bread. Now Dr. Counts is also concerned with spiritual values, but he insists, as do many major prophets of the day, that economic security must be our first concern. Yet history is full of precedent—American history as well—of times when men have willingly starved and sacrificed every earthly gain for the sake of a spiritual end. Conversely men have too frequently lost sight of an ideal through too great emphasis on the material means for its realization. Surely no more disinterested scheme was ever evolved than the American proposal to make education free, universal and compulsory. Yet the very zeal to realize this ideal immediately and everywhere has resulted in the erection of a machine so vast and cumbersome that the living ends of education too often are defeated thereby. And in the present crisis it might very well be that too exclusive attention to a planned economy, however enlightened, and the accompanying preoccupation with the techniques necessary to bring such an economy into being, would divert attention from the real matter in hand.

> We suffer [wrote Randolph Bourne] from a real shortage of spiritual values. A philosophy that worked when we were trying to get the material foundation for American life in which more impassioned living could flourish no longer works when we are faced with

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> as value emphasizers. The allure of the martial in war has passed only to be succeeded by the allure of the technical. The allure of fresh and true ideas . . . has not come and can hardly come while our reigning philosophy is an instrumental one.

When Dr. Counts then laments that we are moved by no great faiths, touched by no great passions, it might be well for him to indict not the schools which merely reflect the current trend, but the underlying philosophy which failed us so disastrously during the War, and which will fail us no less disastrously again if we are so foolish as to trust ourselves to it.

No, social regeneration can come only by the infinitely longer road of spiritual rebuilding. And it is precisely to this task, to the releasing of the creative and dynamic forces in man as against the merely regulatory and conforming, that the newer experimental schools are dedicated. For these newer schools are not merely the latest fad of a feeble and emasculated upper-class liberalism, as Dr. Counts asserts. Nor are they devices for diverting attention from crying social evils by centering on spoiled and overprotected children. Nor are they offering merely clever pedagogical methods for eliminating useless school drudgery, or ways of making children happier—although this is no mean goal. Their function as I see it runs very much deeper and envisages nothing less than the hammering out—in pain and agony, if need be—of new values for modern life.

Nor is this to imply that the newer schools are to retire to some ivory tower far removed from the desperate social and economic evils of the day. Indeed, since the avowed aim of such centers is to foster free and independent thinking, to eliminate the competitive spirit, to set their faces resolutely against all forms of standardization, it is quite impossible that in them existing social institutions should not be challenged and found wanting. And it is of course just this close relation between social reconstruction and education that Rousseau, the father of social revolutions, so clearly foresaw. No living exponent of social change is more ardent than he. Yet in his "Emile," which has been called the "monument of the European revolution," and which was to affect so profoundly the course of education for a century and a half, there is no suggestion of specific indoctrination of the young with social programs, although Rousseau clearly saw the impending cataclysm.

As Rousseau wrote:

> A man must indeed know many things which seem useless to a child. Must a child learn, can he learn, all that a man must know? Try to teach a child what is of use to him as a child and you will find that it takes all his time. Our real teachers are experience and emotion and adult man will never learn what befits him except under his own conditions. A child knows he must become a man . . . but he should remain in complete ignorance of those ideas beyond his grasp. My whole book is one continued argument in support of this fundamental principle.

Dr. Counts may take issue with Rousseau, but to one observer at least, Rousseau appears not merely the better pedagogue, but the more realistic social revolutionist as well.

AGNES DE LIMA

# CORRESPONDENCE

## Revolution without Bloodshed

SIR: Mr. Chase gets a bit hysterical in contemplating the havoc to be wrought by violent revolution upon our great cities. If it were possible for a revolution *completely* to compel the cessation of transport, canning, etc., his fears would be realized. No revolution has ever completely wrecked the system of transportation and food supply. Revolutionary armies for production as well as combat are readily conceived; the Communist party in its extensive and important literature has adequate directives for the continuance of production in times of civil war. If Mr. Chase and others would read this literature, they would find it illuminating!

Davenport, Ia. A. REDBONNET.

## Say It with Fountain Pens

SIR: Requests for autographs are part of the burden which every author has to carry. I do not mind my share, so long as the requests come from persons who have read my books and have some idea of me and what I stand for. But recently the Waterman Fountain Pen Company has started some kind of idiotic prize competition, in which the competitors are induced to write to all kinds of "famous persons" and collect their autographs. The result is that for several weeks not a single mail passes without my getting requests for autographs, mostly from children or semi-literate persons. There are five of them in this morning's mail, and so the worm is turning.

I propose the organization of a Famous Persons' League for the purpose of protecting ourselves against the machinations of advertising men and publicity sharks who steal our time and postage stamps in the effort to promote their sales.

As a first step in my counter campaign, I hereby declare that I shall purchase no Waterman fountain pens until the said advertising men and publicity sharks cease their nefarious activities. I ask all "famous persons" whose mail is similarly burdened to unite with me in making a public declaration of this boycott. Make it also to the advertising department of the Waterman Fountain Pen Company, and write to all the editors you know who may possibly be independent of fountain-pen advertising, and ask them to back us up, and have their readers back us up. I feel quite certain that the readers of my books would prefer that I spend my time writing books instead of opening letters from children and semi-literate persons who are trying to win some kind of a prize from the Waterman Fountain Pen Company.

Let us have action on this matter immediately. Famous Persons of the World, Unite. You have nothing to lose but your Waterman fountain pens.

Pasadena, Calif. UPTON SINCLAIR.

SIR: When we considered the advisability of conducting the Waterman's Autograph Contest, we were mindful of the fact that it would increase the requests for the signatures of famous persons. The degree of this increase naturally depended upon the number of boys and girls who had enough interest in the hobby of collecting autographs to enter our contest, and also upon the amount of enthusiasm they would exhibit after having entered.

Frankly, we did not expect that the Waterman's Autograph Contest would arouse the nationwide interest on the part of boys and girls that it has. We regret, of course, any inconvenience that requests for autographs may have caused Mr. Sinclair, and we hope that he may regard it as a contribution in the direction of encouraging interest on the part of growing boys and girls in pastimes of a constructive character. This is the attitude of such men as Bobby Jones, Admiral Byrd and others, who recognize the interest of the sophisticated youth of today in movie thrillers, cheap literature and gangster activities.

Our contest is confined to boys and girls of sixteen years and under. They are the citizens of tomorrow, and the fact that they

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test, immediately identifies these youngsters as above the average. It is very likely that among them are a good proportion of our future doctors, lawyers, ministers, school teachers and business men. Incidentally, who can say that the Waterman's Autograph Contest may not be the means of introducing hundreds, perhaps thousands, to the writings of famous authors?

We feel that the Waterman's Autograph Contest is a constructive and character-building movement and that its benefits to all concerned far outweigh the only single criticism that can be made of it; namely, that it encroaches somewhat upon the time of famous persons to sign their names for eager and ambitious youngsters throughout the country.

New York City. F. D. WATERMAN.

SIR: Your readers may be interested in my enclosed letter sent today to Mr. F. D. Waterman, of the Waterman Fountain Pen Company.

Pasadena, Calif. UPTON SINCLAIR.

[ENCLOSURE]

Dear Mr. Waterman: I have your letter of June 29, enclosing copies of letters to Bruce Bliven of the New Republic, and James Hopper of the Authors' Guild.

You are trying to sell more fountain pens. In your efforts to do so you have burdened my mail, and the mail of hundreds of other busy and worthwhile people. You have stolen our time in order to increase your income. And when we express our resentment you write long letters in which you tell us that you are trying to improve the youth of the nation, that your efforts are constructive and character-building, and that you think we ought to be glad of the opportunity "of making some boy or girl happy."

Then you cap the climax by offering to lend me an idiotic rigamajig which you have set up whereby people may use half a dozen of your fountain pens at once and write half a dozen signatures at one time. Are you going to lend me one of your clerks to come to my home and set up your idiotic rigamajig and work it, and open my mail and handle the signatures and pay for the cards?

In future, all your dear boys and girls who write to me for my autograph will get a copy of this letter instead, and maybe it will set them to thinking about the hypocrisies and futilities of our competitive commercial society.

Excuse me if my letter is briefer than yours. I have had to open some letters from your dear boys and girls, and my secretary has to make some extra copies of this letter to put in their envelope.

UPTON SINCLAIR.

## Decline of Confidence

SIR: I enjoyed your editorial on "Confidence" in your June 15 issue and I should like to add a few comments of my own. Perhaps they will be of interest to your readers.

In the column entitled "Week in Finance," which appears each Saturday in The New York Evening Post, Mr. Ralph West Robey, financial editor of that paper, had this to say on June 25: "The lack of confidence has been a favorite explanation for business difficulties for many months. It has been common both here and in Washington and there have been innumerable reports to the effect that if public confidence could be restored the business depression would be over. As a matter of fact it would be only a slight extravagance to say that this has been the guiding principle upon which the whole Washington program has been developed." And further on he says this: "A final large factor which it is expected will be used to sustain public confidence is a public building program. This also will be used as a basis for encouraging stories and numerous reports that the business turn has arrived. Here again it is emphasized that even though these stories prove to be false, it will take some time for this to become evident. In the meantime the business community will get whatever benefit there is from having the public in a more cheerful mood." In the greatest depression this country has ever seen, the policy of the government is to hoodwink the general public for [illegible] Business

nized months ago that many of the small banks in that district would have to close their doors. Under the circumstances it was felt the best course was for these banks to continue in business as long as they could, repaying their depositors as the demand was made and closing only when the limit of their borrowing capacity had been reached. . . . The procedure of allowing these weak Chicago banks to pay out deposits until they were at the end of their rope culminated last week in the rapid-fire closing of twenty-two small banks."

Should the general public become alarmed and lose confidence at the spectacle of twenty-two banks closing in one week in one city? Why, of course not! Have not the President and his experts set up the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to prevent banks from closing? Yes, and while these twenty-two banks were closing, the government, through the R.F.C., was furnishing a loan of $80,000,000 to a bank in Chicago headed by Charles Dawes, who, by a strange coincidence, is ex-head of the R.F.C.

Anyone who still has confidence in a system that allows such grave and flagrant injustices has my deepest sympathy.

Staten Island, N. Y. W. P. CAMPBELL.

## To Seattle Friends of the L.I.P.A.

SIR: The League for Independent Political Action is now organizing in the state of Washington for the purpose of promoting a new political alignment in the fall elections. Our object is to unite all progressive factions and parties in this state behind a movement which seeks intelligent and progressive legislation to remedy our present economic and political evils.

All readers of The New Republic in the state of Washington who are disgusted with the Democratic and Republican parties are urged to get in touch with our headquarters at 515 Lyon Building, Seattle, Washington.

EDWARD E. HENRY, Secretary,
Seattle, Washington. King County Committee.

## Protecting the President

SIR: Having an antipathy to the present incumbent of the White House, I had a rubber stamp made, DEFEAT HOOVER. It may interest you to know that the . . . Post Office Department has threatened to take away my mailing rights if I persist in using the stamp on the outside of envelopes. Presumably there would have been no objection to "Elect Hoover" or "Defeat Roosevelt"; but lawyers tell me there is no recourse from the arbitrary action of the Department, and that unless I want my business (such as it is these days) inconvenienced, I had better lay off.

*A nous la liberté!*

New York City. H. S. C.

[The Post Office action in our correspondent's case appears to have been taken under Section 471 and possibly 474 of the postal laws and regulations, edition of 1924. These passages read as follows:

> Sec. 471. All matter otherwise mailable by law, upon the envelope or outside cover or wrapper of which, or any postal card upon which, any delineations, epithets, terms or language of an indecent, lewd, lascivious, obscene, libelous, scurrilous, defamatory or threatening character, or calculated by terms or manner or style of display and obviously intended to reflect injuriously on the character or conduct of another which may be written or printed or otherwise impressed or apparent, are hereby declared non-mailable matter, and shall not be conveyed in the mails nor delivered from any Post Office nor by any carrier, and shall be withdrawn from the mails under such regulations as the Postmaster General may prescribe. . . .
>
> [Punishment prescribed for anyone so doing is a fine of not more than $5,000 or five years' imprisonment.]
>
> Sec. 474. The postmaster shall not give opinions to the public, and when in doubt he shall hold the same from dispatch or delivery and submit the question with sample of

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# The Cornfield Journalist

*Joel Chandler Harris: Editor and Essayist, edited by Julia Collier Harris. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 429 pages. $4.*

THIS VALUABLE collection of the fugitive writings of Joel Chandler Harris will not immediately increase his reputation, but in the long run it will alter the public notion of his career. Before that can happen, however, the profession of letters—if such a profession survive the upheavals of this decade—will have to study Harris's philosophy of literature, and disentangle its permanent features from the casual and frequently merely whimsical forms that he wrote in: it was with great surprise that the present reviewer discovered, in these fragmentary essays, a complete and matured attitude toward the writer and his materials. This attitude is of great importance. Our conception of Harris has been, of course, a very limited one—a provincial Georgian, with a genius for Negro dialect, who created a character called Uncle Remus. It is an enviable reputation, but it leaves out of consideration an entire phase of his career and, I think, the most valuable phase.

If one whole side of his work has been neglected, it must be confessed that the explanation lies in his own conception of his career. He never saw himself as a man of letters. He had an invincible modesty, a steady and perfectly sincere belief that he had never written anything of value. It is easy, I think, to overestimate the effect of this belief on the inadequate form of his social and critical writings. Most probably he could not see himself as a man of letters chiefly because there was no profession of letters in the South at that time; there was no model for him to go by, no solidarity of writers for him to join. His voluminous correspondence with the New York editors, his trips to the East, even the efforts of G. W. Cable to get him on the lecture platform, failed to bring him out of his isolation; and in the end the price he paid for independence and integrity was the oblivion of half of his writings, in the files of The Atlanta Constitution.

The editor of this volume, Mrs. Julia Collier Harris, his daughter-in-law and the author of his life, has done her work with admirable tact and skill. The book is a model of editing. It is arranged roughly in chronological order in four divisions. The first section, called "The Cornfield Journalist," contains specimens of his early writings; here one finds, at the outset, the greatest variety of subject and the most casual treatment. The second division is a selection from his opinions on the problem of the Negro. The third and fourth sections show the concentration of a mature mind, although the form is still diffuse: his interests in later life are politics, society and literature, and the early vein of genteel magazine sentiment—"The Glory of Summer," "At the Sign of the Wren's Nest"—has disappeared.

The agitation in the last fifteen years for a "native" American literature has been based almost exclusively on Whitman, but a far sounder text could have been found in a few passages from the writings of Joel Chandler Harris. Whitman's gospel for the American writer is too deeply involved in a sentimental politics to be of permanent value, and is likely to be forgotten more and more as the "frontier psychology" vanishes. Harris's view, however, is applicable to any state of society at any time, and it contains no special plea whatever; in fact, Harris explicitly

> Literature that is Georgian or Southern is necessarily American, and in the broadest sense. The sectionalism that is the most marked feature of our modern politics can never intrude into literature. Its intrusion is fatal, and it is this fatality that has pursued and overtaken and destroyed literary effort in the South. The truth might as well be told. We have no Southern literature worthy of the name, because an attempt has been made to give it the peculiarities of sectionalism rather than to impart to it the flavor of localism.

That last phrase, of course, is Harris's journalese, but the intended distinction is fundamental, and Harris meant to convey its full implications. In an article written two months later than the passage I have quoted, he said: "An interesting phase of the continual call for what is technically known as 'Southern Literature' is the accompanying demand for controversial fiction." The tyranny of politics over the Southern writer he fiercely resented. The sentimental, romantic school of Southern fiction, the school headed by Thomas Nelson Page, was dominated by politics: the writer could not lose himself in his material because he was goaded by public opinion into presenting it aggressively. He was a "sectionalist," not a "localist"; if we use the latter term to mean the writer who approaches his subject purely and naturally, I believe we come near to Harris's meaning.

This idea was first expressed in 1879. Eleven years later Harris wrote an article on the reception that Henry James's essay on Hawthorne had received in Boston. James, in his characteristic attitude, had denounced American literature as "provincial" and had taken New England to task for the provincial limitations of Hawthorne. Harris was amused at the replies to James; the Bostonians hastened to assure the world that they were not provincial at all. Harris was astute enough to see that the denial of the "vice" betrayed its presence in its least respectable form; and he went on to say:

> Under the circumstances, there is nothing left for Boston to do but to borrow a theory from Atlanta, the cracker city of Georgia, and defend it. That theory is, that no enduring work of the imagination has ever been produced save by a mind in which the provincial instinct was the controlling influence.

Not only did Boston fail to borrow the theory; critical opinion since it was expounded has ignored it.

It should be observed that Harris does not overstate his case; he says that the provincial instinct must be the controlling influence, not the sole influence. The imaginative writer must be preoccupied with a scene that has become so familiar to him that it is inseparable from the character; for art is sensuous and it must have a sensuous groundwork for any superstructure of ideas that the author, from whatever source, may have acquired. In 1882 he wrote to a young woman who had asked for his literary advice:

> It will be no trouble for you to attract attention in The Constitution provided that what you write deserves attention. Permit me to suggest a series of "Street Car Studies," or something in that line—something about people and things with which you are perfectly familiar. It is a great step towards success when a young writer gains his or her consent to treat of things with which he or she is familiar.

American writers from the beginning have not been comfortable in a local scene, and it has been due undoubtedly to the domination of politics in a democratic society. There

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sufficiency that it fostered. The political domination—and this is what Harris meant by the evil of sectionalism—it has been hard to distinguish from the pioneer imperialism which is still the leading motive of the American mind. No man can contemplate and love the grove that he intends to cut down. The political tyranny of the older America of agriculture and commerce has been replaced by the tyranny of Big Business. The elder form of the vice, with all its faults, was doubtless better than the younger; for politics at its height in this country understood ideas, but business seems to understand nothing, not even itself.

The fate of Harris's reputation in the next thirty years cannot be predicted: I have said that his conception of literature is applicable to any state of society. That is not strictly true; it is applicable to any relatively stable society, whatever the social organization may be. The mere study of a sound theory is not sufficient to make it available to writers; yet a writer like Harris, at this time, has a distinct critical value. His point of view is the central and permanent point of view to which literature, after periods of heresy, always returns. Although our time is concerned about the ascendancy of industrialism, or Big Business, over the arts, this criticism, even when it seems to be literary, is a political counter-attack. Much of the Communist criticism of capitalistic art sounds less like the best pages of Trotsky's "Literature and Revolution" than like the standard denunciation of art by the Humanists, whose economics is conservative capitalism. The tyranny of politics gave way before the more powerful tyranny of Big Business; now we have a new tyranny, that of Revolution. Trotsky and Harris, on the fundamentals of literature, are closer together than Trotsky and Dos Passos, or Trotsky and Max Eastman. This new heresy is just developing. It will probably be a generation before fine letters can regain its bearings—for a little while; and then some new heresy will have its day.

ALLEN TATE.

# Revolutionary Devolution

*Rebels and Renegades, by Max Nomad. New York: The Macmillan Company. 437 pages, illustrated. $3.*

AS COOLLY as a prosecuting attorney, Mr. Nomad examines the careers of Malatesta the anarchist, Trotsky, Foster, Briand, Scheidemann, MacDonald, Mussolini and Pilsudski, the first three being "rebels," the others "renegades." Economic motives—the search for office, income and power—shaped their revolutionary careers: this is true, Mr. Nomad believes, even in the case of his three rebels. Malatesta's doctrine kept power, and therefore the corruptions of power, distant from him. Trotsky never attained the complete power his temperament required for its disintegration; and Foster has not yet had power enough to test him.

The Industrial Revolution, in Mr. Nomad's thesis, provided the cause and the opportunity for a horde of declassed intellectuals on the make, who became the first leaders of revolt. Turned loose by the spread of education, which enlarged their ambitions beyond their opportunities, they found in the industrial workers a class more group conscious than the peasantry, more insecure, therefore readier for change, and more easily organized. Leadership of this class, in trade unions and revolutionary parties, furnished the intellectuals with jobs and careers. When these unions and parties were organized and won victories, its intellectuals were satisfied. The cause would cause. With all their powers they tried to fix the status quo, and secretly, sometimes openly, sabotaged the revolutionary movement. Inert MacDonald helped palsy the British general strike; Giolitti checked the Italian revolution; Briand, once the firebrand of the general strike, was faced, after he became minister, by the sort of strike he advocated—and killed it by calling strikers to the colors and marching them against their comrades. Scheidemann virtually connived at the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg and turned to Hindenburg to keep his "socialist" party in power. Mussolini betrayed all his principles except his egotism; Pilsudski likewise.

For these tragic retrogressions and treacheries, many of which may have been sincerely thought of as strategic retreats, the power-appetite explanation seems to me too narrow. It oversimplifies the situation. Mr. Nomad does not take into account the sheer capacity for assimilation that a stable system exerts upon its invaders. The capitalist system, still strong, self-confident and fertile in its elaboration of luxuries, comforts and "conquests" over nature, absorbed the socialists as China formerly absorbed its conquerors. Not jobs alone, but dignities, traditions, social alliances, patriotism, were the solvents. The new order, still untried and "disreputable," never had a chance.

To me, the significant point of Mr. Nomad's book is that "evolutionary" socialism was a delusion. It underestimated the assimilative power of capitalism. By its dependence upon political tactics, socialism sacrificed the revolutionary impetus and surrendered the initiative to its enemies. Its evolution then became a devolution, which its apologists tiresomely rationalized as "practicality" and "realism." Socialism can only evolve when a revolution gives it freedom and space for its evolution.

Mr. Nomad at times realizes that his interpretation of revolutionist psychology is too narrow. Toward the end he is less insistent upon it, and in at least one passage shows that he is aware of other elements in the composition: ". . . the declassé intelligentsia . . . which, in all countries in need of a revolution, supplies rebels and renegades, idealists and adventurers, statesmen and job-hunters; and more often than not, that human all-too-human specimen, which is a *composite* of all of these types."

The author's insistence upon the job and career motive may be attributed to his being a disciple of the Polish revolutionist Machajski, who saw "the mental workers as a rising privileged class. Higher education was their 'capital,' the source of their actual or potential higher incomes. . . . Political democracy (or a revolutionary dictatorship, according to circumstances) was the first, and state capitalism the next, step to their domination." For capitalists there would be substituted "a class of hereditary, soft-handed intellectuals who would perpetuate the slavery of the manual workers and their offspring." Such a slavery could be averted, Machajski thought, only by complete "equality of income [which] would secure to all an equal opportunity for higher education and thus would do away with all class divisions. The function of government having ceased to be the privilege of an educated minority, the state, as an instrument of opposition and exploitation, would disappear." It is clear that Mr. Nomand considers the Soviet government to be in the state-capitalist stage of socialism. Equality of income, and therefore of opportunity, is still to be won.

Mr. Nomad's book is clear and absorbing, valuable for its study of revolutionist psychology and its incidental exposure of the failure of "revolution by evolution." It is in

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revolutionary movements in Russia, Poland, Italy, France, England, Germany and the United States, told with documentary precision and at the same time with the intimacy of a participant. ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

# Reveille

*Challenge to Defeat: Modern Man in Goethe's World and Spengler's Century, by William Harlan Hale. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 209 pages. $2.50.*

MR. Hale, one year out of college, presents in his first book a courageous attitude towards a directionless world. This attitude is more important than anything he says.

He begins by comparing 1932 with 1832, and chooses Goethe as the summarizing figure of the earlier time. Goethe overthrew French rationalism; and while "standing in the middle of the movement of sensibility and the 'return to nature,' had already gone beyond the tendencious channels, and found a guiding belief [declared years later, in "Faust"] that in the endless striving and growing of man lies the key to all truth and salvation." Mr. Hale lays a justified emphasis on the wholeness of vision of the mature Goethe. The nineteenth century, he continues, took up only the incomplete revolt of Goethe as a youth. Artists revolted from society, fled reality, denied reason; but the Practical was enthroned, in business, in the bourgeois, in mechanistic thought. We still suffer from the cleavage. Mr. Hale properly credits the generalization to Edmund Wilson. But, lacking the social passion of the older critic, he praises Goethe for standing aloof from the French Revolution. He does not see that this aloofness helped sow division.

Spengler, thinks Mr. Hale, is the prophet of the twentieth century. "For once and for all, we accept his challenge." His belief in the soul "culminates in soullessness"; he denies absolutes, but proclaims the "Morphology of Cultures"; he denies the transmission of cultures, but interprets them; he compares, but allows no criticism of his comparisons; he selectes his data. The refutation of Spengler is convincing: Mr. Hale's own scheme for regeneration is not. First, "all must start from the Self"; second, the Eye must steadily refer to objective reality; third, the Mind must "unite the merely esthetic and the merely scientific into a greater whole"; fourth, there must be "the unknowable reintegrating deed, which we might call Totality. This is the secret of genius." These are words, not a way of action. To say that genius will provide an answer is not to supply the answer.

Mr. Hale has courage, a quality which has not been conspicuous in the wailing Krutch, the retreating Eliot or the New Humanists. This makes him immediately attractive and may betoken future leadership. He also has religious feeling. He reminds us that no world genius has appeared since Goethe, to affirm "this final totality"; and that the "deepest artists of the period [Joyce, Proust, Mann] have recognized the impossibility of striving for it." This young man of twenty-one has a considerable equipment; he has yet to make use of it. At present he shows a dangerous habit of thinking in generalities that look well on paper and mean very little. His religious feeling, too, is mixed with literary ancestor-worship and social conservatism. He may succeed in purifying both style and feeling; in that case his courage will become an effective force. Otherwise he will remain among those who pray and possess

# "A Model of the World"

*Roads to Knowledge, edited by William Allan Neilson. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 349 pages. $3.75.*

*Modern Education, by Otto Rank. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 247 pages. $2.50.*

THE BOOK edited by Dr. Neilson is the best I have seen of those intended for adult education. It departs from the tradition of the outline of knowledge and attempts instead to direct the studies of an ambitious student. It realizes, to quote from the chapter on the fine arts, that "modern education is tending both to intense factual specialization and superficial generalization"; that it encourages people "to talk and think in clever phrases about subjects which they do not understand." No chapter in this book attempts to make the reader feel that he understands the subject. Instead, each chapter is essentially a map showing the contours of the subject, and closes with a first-rate bibliography. The book may be warmly recommended to all who have to do with the education of adults.

Dr. Rank's book is much more difficult to recommend since, while it is full of good sense, it conforms too completely to the well established tradition that books on psychology and education should, if possible, be unreadable. There seems to be a serious dearth of competent translators of German books on psychology. Nevertheless, for those who are prepared to put up with a great deal of intolerable jargon, the book rewards close reading.

A point well worth making at present is that psychology is unable to offer positive aims to education, for, as Dr. Rank points out, psychology can suggest only the negative aim of avoiding neurosis. The positive aims of education must depend ultimately upon social ideals. In the past there has been widespread agreement as to the kind of society for which children should be trained. At present no such agreement exists. Conventional schools educate children for a world that is rapidly disappearing. The more radical schools as a rule have a profound dislike of indoctrination, and an unwillingness to admit the amount of indoctrination implicit in their ways. They are usually not clear, therefore, as to the probable social results of the sort of education to which their children are subjected. In the important matter of sexual enlightenment and sexual instruction, it is probable—and perhaps fortunate—that many of those who attempt to practise modern methods have not fully realized the revolution in adult conduct which is not unlikely to result.

We are tending, therefore, as Dr. Rank suggests, to expect the child to assume "that degree of responsibility which hitherto every adult human being could not live up to." In former ages moral sanctions were provided by the collective authority of society, as represented by the family, the Church and the State. Nowadays the responsibility is thrust upon the child, because "we no longer believe sufficiently in the old ideologies and not yet enough in the new ideas to present them to the child with sufficient conviction, or even to live according to them." It is not perhaps surprising, therefore, that "modern man is altogether less stable than the average type of former epochs" and that "a child has to pass through a much more critical childhood than has ever before been the case in the history of man."

Throughout the book Dr. Rank's realization of practical difficulties is very refreshing, but it must be noted that, like most of us, he is better able to propose a proble-

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results which could not be avoided" in applying modern methods of education to isolated groups, since special problems are created with some of the children by their knowledge that their education is different from that of other children. No one would deduce from this that modern schools ought not to exist, and yet no one can deny that the difficulty is real, since only a minority of human beings seem able to combine happiness with the knowledge that they belong to a minority.

Dr. Rank also appears to be less convinced than some modern psychologists that all education beyond the early years is useless. "We are not surprised," he says, "that the child outgrows his shoes and clothes. We have even already accustomed ourselves to the fact that he loses his childish beliefs; and so perhaps we shall also have to get used to the fact that he develops his character and his personality."

The book is in many ways opportune, since it comes at a time when educators of the more advanced schools are beginning to realize that a purely individualistic education will not do, and that any educational philosophy which is to be workable must be related to social aims. Fundamentally the aim of education is the production of civilized societies, but whether such societies are cosmopolitan or nationalist, capitalist or communist, how far their morality should consist in an imposed uniformity of conduct, or how far it should tolerate individual idiosyncrasy, are matters as to which there is widespread disagreement. The present anarchy and uncertainties in education are but the reflection of our current social and moral confusion. In the meantime those who think they feel the birth pangs of the "brave new world" must reflect with Sanderson of Oundle that "the school should be a model of the world as we would love to have it."

W. B. CURRY.

# Why Germany Failed

*Ludendorff: The Tragedy of a Military Mind, by Karl Tschuppik. Translated by W. H. Johnston. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 282 pages. $5.*

IN THE SUMMER of 1918 the tide of war turned, suddenly and decisively. The Germans were amazed and stunned; the possibility of defeat had been excluded from their imagination. The generals charged the catastrophe to civilian weakness, the famous "stab in the back"; the civilians, to Wilson's propaganda, his treacherous Fourteen Points. But as the years passed and the Germans regained their reasoning powers, there arose a critical literature to account for the defeat, to trace its causes, near and remote. The book before us is part of this literature. It is not a biography of the outstanding German general, but an account of his role in the War and, above all, a severe criticism and condemnation of his course in the two years of his virtual dictatorship; and it involves in its condemnation not only Ludendorff, but also the Kaiser, the statesmen (above all, the successive chancellors), the Reichstag, the political parties and their leaders. It ranks with Dr. Arthur Rosenberg's "The Rise of the German Republic" as an illuminating commentary on the internal political developments of Germany during the War.

The postulate of Herr Tschuppik's criticism of German war policy is Clausewitz's famous proposition, that "war is a continuation of policy by other means." War, like policy, must pursue aims that are reasonable, definite, attainable, solving an insoluble problem of policy. Under William II, German statesmanship had become so ambitious that it overreached itself, and in its failure assigned to the General Staff the task of fighting a war on two fronts. This in itself was a defeat, which all the skill of statesmanship should have tried to avoid. On the contrary, under William II such a war was accepted as an unavoidable fatality, dictated by Germany's geographical position. To avert a diplomatic defeat in the Balkans, for which Bismarck would not have risked the bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier, a military catastrophe was invited.

Having blundered into such a war, it should have been the primary aim of Germany's statesmen to extricate her at the first opportunity. Such an opportunity presented itself when Russia was thoroughly defeated. By a conciliatory policy, Russia might have been induced to sign a separate peace, and Germany would have been free to throw her entire military force into France. Instead, the kingdom of Poland was proclaimed in November, 1916, at the demand of the generals who thought that they would be thus enabled to raise a Polish army that would fight for Germany. That hope proved illusory, but the opportunity for a separate peace with the Tsar vanished.

To prove its incapacity beyond all possible doubt, German statesmanship jumped at the opportunity of bringing America into the War by embarking on unrestricted submarine warfare. Herr Tschuppik does not treat submarine warfare as a problem in ethics, but as one of war and policy. And it should be noted that the responsibility for the momentous decision that arrayed the United States with Germany's enemies was shared in by the central committee of the Reichstag, which included all the leading parties.

The last opportunity to extricate Germany from the war on two fronts came with the Bolshevik revolution. By granting Russia mild peace terms, eighty divisions—one third of the German army—could have been withdrawn from the East, and Russia might have been converted into an ally, or at least a friendly neutral. Moreover, such a peace could not have failed to produce a profound moral effect in the West. Or Germany might have adopted the alternative policy of appeasing England by quitting Belgium, disarming France by restoring to her Alsace-Lorraine, and recouping herself at the expense of Russia. Considering the universal fear and detestation of Bolshevism which then prevailed, such a Machiavellian policy might well have succeeded. But there were no statesmen in Germany that could put a curb on the unlimited ambitions of her generals, admirals, industrialists and land-hungry Junkers. In fact, German peace aims had become entirely visionary. Not content with annexing parts of France and tying up Belgium and Poland, the Baltic provinces and the Ukraine with Germany, the Admiralty put forth, at the Crown Council held at Spa in July, 1918, a demand for "a neutral zone on the east coast of North America," whatever that might have meant—a demand which William had too much sense to grant. Even as late as September 29, when the General Staff was clamoring for an immediate armistice to avert a debacle, Hindenburg still clung to the idea that the terms of peace must include the annexation of the Briey and Longwy districts; but Ludendorff cut him short by saying that the time had passed for that.

In domestic affairs, too, the same political incapacity was shown. The Conservatives continued to resist the granting of universal suffrage for the Prussian Landtag when revolution was, as it were, knocking at the door. Progressives and

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dorff—of all men—to give instructions for the establishment of such a government. And Herr Tschuppik comments: "The nation was accustomed to receive orders and to obey, and it was incapable even of effecting a revolution otherwise than by order." HERMAN SIMPSON.

# Book Notes

## PUBLIC QUESTIONS

CAN MAN BE CIVILIZED? by Harry Elmer Barnes. *New York: Brentano's. 307 pages. $2.50.*

One reason why we are not civilized is that we have no up-to-date concepts of civilization; one reason why we lack such concepts is the extreme difficulty of synthesizing the complicated materials out of which a modern civilization must be made. In this attempt to state and synthesize, rather than solve, the dilemmas of modern society, Mr. Barnes charges robustly and with much profit for the average reader across the stricken fields of religion, morals, ethics, individual and social psychology, sex, criminology, economics, technology and education. He charges with an open mind and a single faith, committed wholly to the general method of science, but specifically *not* committed to any given dynamic of social change, scientific or otherwise. One notes that Mr. Barnes is much more tolerant of capitalism than he is of religion. He proscribes fundamentalists and modernists alike; but habitually he writes on the assumption that capitalism is a system to be retained and permitted to evolve from within.

RACE, CLASS AND PARTY: A History of Negro Suffrage and White Politics in the South, by Paul Lewinson. *New York: Oxford University Press. 302 pages. $3.75.*

"It is impossible to tell the story of Negro suffrage without bringing into the picture the political divisions among whites. It is equally impossible to trace white political issues and cleavages without reference to the Negro as the common enemy, the red herring across all political trails." These words from the introduction to Mr. Lewinson's sound and painstaking study of Southern politics indicate, in a measure, the scope of his survey. The principal facts which emerge from it are that the so-called "Solid South" has shown real political solidarity on only two occasions; once, in 1861, to preserve slavery, and again, in 1876, to overturn the Reconstruction governments. On both occasions it rallied to the battle cry of "White Supremacy." The social and economic cleavages between the classes, the struggle between agrarians and industrialists, between small farmers and big planters, between aristocrats and poor whites, have at times dangerously threatened this white solidarity, and the extent and character of Negro suffrage has been greatly affected by both attitudes. The Negro—generally disfranchised in the South by unconstitutional state constitutions, white primary laws and the "interpretation" of registration and election laws—has sometimes been enfranchised by similar means when any particular white faction happened to need his vote. A few shrewd Negro politicians, like Robert Church of Memphis, have been able to turn the anomalous situation to the advantage of their race and insist on a *quid pro quo* for support at the polls. Generally speaking, disfranchisement has had a most unfavorable effect on the Negro's situation. Mr. Lewinson's study of all these matters is thorough and, on the whole, admirably fair, but suffers somewhat from the fact that he cannot quite see Negro suffrage from the Negro's point of view. If he had taken into account black as well as white cleavages and issues and, especially, the rapidly growing class warfare within the colored group, the future importance of his book would have been considerably increased.

## FICTION

BEAUTY LIES BEYOND HELL! by Howard W. Roper. *New York: Ray Long and Richard R. Smith. $2.*

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Written in a manner [illegible]

goes through the conventional routine of the adolescent artist in fiction. It begins when America enters the War and ends with the Armistice, for no particular reason, apparently, as George's contact with the War is insignificant. All of the moon-calf themes except the writing of verse are worked in, as well as many from the later hard-boiled school. With few changes the novel could be made to serve as a parody of much recent fiction.

THE HOUSE OF VANISHED SPLENDOR, by William McNally. *New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.50.*

The rise and fall of a Middle Western family—on the banks of the Upper Mississippi, this time—provide a framework, in this novel, for half a dozen excellent characterizations. There is John Knott, builder of the fortune and of Swan's Wing, the family estate; his wife, dominated and preyed upon by her older sister; the four children, who in different ways illustrate different kinds of failure. The portraits of Betty, who cannot understand why her successive marriages are broken up, and of Dwight, the insane business man who wrecks the fortune by his determination to bring new industries to town, have shrewdness and a rare quality of detachment; they are fresh and ironic interpretations of familiar American types. The artistic member of the family kills himself almost from inertia; he is unwilling to develop his talents because of his contempt for his potential audience, and cannot try to rebuild the fortune because, "The world might survive another war; it could never survive another Andrew Carnegie." Dealing with a subject that has almost become synonymous with tediousness in fiction, the novel is surprisingly vigorous, with the few lapses in interest coming principally from repetition. The collapse of the family is portrayed more convincingly than its success; one cannot help feeling that the provincial splendor was by no means as satisfactory a way of life as the author would have one believe.

## Contributors

DR. CARL E. LADD is director of extension work in the (New York) State College of Agriculture and Home Economics at Cornell University. For the past three years he has been secretary of Governor Roosevelt's Agricultural Advisory Commission and has also worked on problems of agricultural economics for the United States Department of Agriculture.

WALDO FRANK'S book, "Dawn in Russia," from which the series of four articles concluding in the present issue of The New Republic was selected, is published by Charles Scribner's Sons.

KENNETH BURKE is now on his farm in northern New Jersey, where he is writing a "combination fiction and essay" dealing with the contemporary scene.

AGNES DELIMA, who has for years made a study of educational methods and theory, is a frequent contributor to various periodicals and the author of The New Republic Dollar Book, "Our Enemy the Child."

ALLEN TATE, the author of two biographies and two volumes of verse, recently left for France, where he and his wife, who this year was a recipient of a Guggenheim Fellowship, plan to remain for the next twelve months.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER, poet, novelist and critic, divides his time between his farm in Pennsylvania and the publishing house of The Macaulay Company, where he handles the publicity department.

JEROME MELLQUIST is spending the summer in Massachusetts, finishing a novel. He has contributed to The Saturday Review of Literature, The Commonweal and other journals.

W. B. CURRY, formerly headmaster of the Oak Lane Country Day School in Philadelphia, is now director of education at Dartington Hall, Totnes, England.

HERMAN SIMPSON has been an editor of The New York Call

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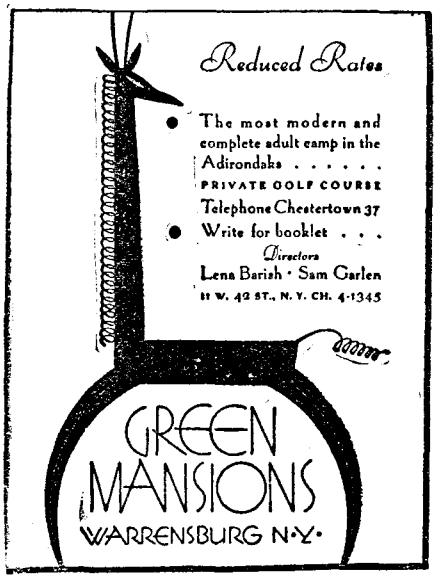


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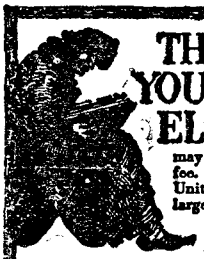
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